

210

(U) Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (Rev. 6-2-67)

(U) TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41324)
FROM : SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - CIRM
IS - C

DATE: *November 20, 1967*

Date prepared
November 20, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Dictated 10/16&19/67 to [redacted]
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Date of Report: 10/16&19/67
Date(s) of activity: 10/14 and 10/15/67

Brief description of activity or material
Enlarged meeting of the National Negro Commission held at the Hotel Victoria Abbey, New York City

File where original is located if not attached
A) [redacted]

Remarks: Airtel and LHM submitted re contents.

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- (U) 2 - San Francisco (RM)
 - 1 - 100-
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- 2 - Baltimore (RM)
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- 2 - Boston (RM)
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- (CIRM)
(JOHN PITTMAN)
- (CP, CIRM)
- (CP, CIRM)
- (CP, CIRM)
(PHIL BART)
- (LNU) (N/M)

RETAIN THIS COPY PER MRR, PART II, SECTION 3, P. 15b

CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY *SP6/ya/kl* (4/22/82)
REASON FOR EXTENSION
FCIM II, 1-2.4.2
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 11/5/86

ELS:mh:mes
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(Copies continued Page i)

5 - Los Angeles

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and copy 2/2/83*

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CG 100-41324

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5 - Detroit (RM)

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(CP, CIRM)
(TOMMY DENNIS)

[REDACTED]

(LNU)

5 - Los Angeles (RM)

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- 1 - 100-

(CP, CIRM)
(ROSCOE PROCTOR)
(DOROTHY HEALY)

[REDACTED]

(KENDRA ALEXANDER)

2 - Milwaukee (RM)

- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

(CP, CIRM)

[REDACTED]

1 - Newark (RM)

- 1 - 100-

(CONFERENCE ON "BLACK POWER")

31 - New York (RM)

- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

(CP, USA, CIRM)

[REDACTED]

1 - 100-

(GIL GREEN)

- 1 - 100-13472

[REDACTED]

- 1 - 100-

[REDACTED]

- 1 - 100-

[REDACTED]

- 1 - 100-

[REDACTED]

- 1 - 100-141914

(GUS HALL)

- 1 - 100-84994

(HENRY WINSTON)

- 1 - 100-269

(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

- 1 - 100-98699

(HELEN WINTER)

- 1 - 100-

[REDACTED]

- 1 - 100-128255

(TED BASSETT)

- 1 - 100-13829

(JIM JACKSON)

- 1 - 100-16785

(IRV POTASH)

- 1 - 100-48033

(GEORGE MEYERS)

- 1 - 100-

(ROSCOE PROCTOR)

- 1 - 100-

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CG 100-41324

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- 1 - 100-97162 ("POLITICAL AFFAIRS")
- 1 - 100- (MISSISSIPPI-FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
- 1 - 100- (NATION OF ISLAM)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 100- (FNU, LNU, (white/female)
- 1 - 100- (NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEW POLITICS)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - WOMEN'S MATTERS)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - 100- (NALC)
- 1 - 100-19194 (A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH)
- 1 - 100- (CP, USA - LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 100- (AL SIMON)
- 5 - Philadelphia (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- (LNU)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 3 - Portland (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 2 - San Antonio (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 2 - San Diego (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- (BILL TAYLOR)
- 2 - Seattle (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]
- 2 - WFO (RM)
 - 1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
 - 1 - 100- [redacted]

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CG 100-41324

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22 - Chicago

- 1 - A [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
- 1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-12890 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-41442 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-17828 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-3293 (ISH FLORY)
- 1 - 100-41889 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 157-504 (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
- 1 - 100-31398 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - MISC, INDUSTRIAL)
- 1 - 100-35635 (NATION OF ISLAM)
- 1 - 100-35356 (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1 - 100-17977 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
- 1 - 100-18953 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-43253 (NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF NEW POLITICS)
- 1 - 100-19492 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - WOMEN'S MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-18957 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - YOUTH MATTERS)
- 1 - 100-36644 (NALC)
- 1 - 100-19696 (A. PHELLIP RANDOLPH)
- 1 - 100-18954 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - LEGISLATIVE MATTERS)
- 1 - 157-1393 (CONFERENCE ON "BLACK POWER")

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Chicago, Illinois
October 16 and 19, 1967] X

(U) An enlarged meeting of the National Negro Commission, who sponsored a conference on Negro work nationally for the Communist Party (CP), was held on October 14 and 15, 1967, at New York City at the Hotel Victoria Abbey with approximately 70 individuals in attendance. The meeting was two days in length. Among those present were:

From New York:

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

GIL GREEN

From California:

ROSCOE PROCTOR
DOROTHY HEALY

[Redacted]

BILL TAYLOR

[Redacted]

JOHN PITTMAN

From Seattle:

[Redacted]

From Chicago:

JACK KLING

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

ISH FLORY

From Ohio:

[Redacted]
[Redacted] (LNU) (Negro male)
[Redacted]

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From Detroit:

TOMMY DENNIS

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

(LNU) (heavy-set, white, about 45)

From Baltimore:

[redacted]

From Texas:

[redacted]

From Boston:

[redacted]

From Philadelphia:

[redacted] (LNU)
[redacted]

From Oregon:

[redacted]

Among the youth present were:

[redacted]
[redacted] (Head of Du Bois Clubs)
[redacted]
[redacted] from Portland
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] from Milwaukee

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Among those from the national leadership present were:

GUS HALL
HENRY WINSTON
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HELEN WINTER
[redacted]
TED BASSETT
JIM JACKSON
[redacted]
IRV POTASH
[redacted]

(U) The following report was given on October 14, 1967,
by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT:

He welcomed the delegates and indicated that the conference was inspired by the article of ROSCOE PROCTOR published in Political Affairs. The background for the discussion is the problem of war or peace and the growing fascist danger in the United States. The unity of Negro and white is in danger unless this crisis is changed. The report will deal with the following:

- The character of the Party;
- An analysis of black nationalism;
- The analysis of the struggle for Negro rights;
- An estimate of past Party policies;
- The vanguard role of the Party.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT began by quoting PROCTOR who gave an estimate that the situation in the ghetto will probably last for another ten years. LIGHTFOOT criticized that estimate because it was taken out of context of the direction and the relationship to the rest of the country. LIGHTFOOT also mentioned that ROSCOE PROCTOR did not speak of the direction of Negro nationalism. LIGHTFOOT indicated that black nationalism is a conditioned reflex and not a thing in itself. The report

(U) continued to indicate that the struggle in the United States is slowly converging on the war policies of the administration. He used as examples of the discontent--the crime statistics, the economic situation, all which he suggested are results of the decaying nature of capitalism. He also indicated that the pro-Democratic forces have reached an extremely high level, but there are conditions within it that endangers its unity. The factors that lead to this unity are basically ideological. The problem of racism is still a major splitting ideology. This disunity has developed a new stage resulting from the WALLACE movement of 1964 and the reaction to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in 1964 at the Democratic convention. Some of the liberal forces that were associated with civil rights have switched their positions and are now either inactive or on the side of the racists. Another factor is the role of the police who are carrying out repressive policies against the Negro masses. The most important weakness is the lack of a movement against racists in the white grass roots community. LIGHTFOOT mentioned two main issues around which racist ideology flourishes. One is on economic questions--the other on housing. The growth of unemployment generally in the country presents the American

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working class, black and white, with a shrinking labor market and, therefore, workers compete for what jobs are available. This ideology of racism becomes a weapon in the hands of white workers to reduce their competition. LIGHTFOOT referred to unemployment figures taken from the recently published U.S. Department of Labor statistics. The unions themselves have been barriers to the growth of Negro skills. He singled out the Building Trade Union as one of the most racist. On Housing, he demanded a comprehensive program to solve the housing problems, and what is needed is a radical shift in racist ideology. Racism is the major cause of black nationalism. It is a reaction to the feeling of being rejected by white society. The struggle for integration did not succeed and this placed before the ghetto a feeling that integration is not the answer. He also mentioned the psychological struggle to combat the inferiority feeling among the Negro people. He indicated that there are three major forces in the ghetto which make up this nationalist trend. One is the more recent migrants from the South who are working or unemployed and do not have the experience of the trade union movement. The second are the Negro youth, both students and workers, who make up a large ~~X~~

section of the ghetto unemployed, and the third, small but important Negro business. These are the main springboards for black nationalists. The current wave of nationalism does not have the escapist element of the GARVEY movement. It is not the same as the Party's past concept of the Negro people as a nation. It is not the Black Muslim position. The main thrust has not been against the white community in general. At the same time, it is not seeking alliances with white Americans. The main content is of a progressive character. They do not reject coalition, but they are distrustful of white liberals. The Party's position must be to support the progressive part of nationalism and reject the reactionary aspects. The Black Muslim movement is reactionary, and we must reject that. The main wave of nationalism is against capitalism. The fight for the identity and unity of the Negro community--we support that. We try to develop greater class content in the nationalistic movement. We reject the concept of guerrilla warfare in the Negro community. That cannot succeed because it does not have the support of the masses and no armed uprising can succeed unless it is supported by the people. To attempt it without that support is suicide. KING was wrong when he said ~~X~~

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that violence was the only tactic that the American ruling class responded to. The Party has had experience on the questions of force and violence, and we must restate our position. We do support the right of the Negro people for self-defense. We do not accept the proposition that concessions can only be won through violence. Many of the young militants say they have no chance for advancing because of the lack of Negro freedom under capitalism. We must reject that formulation because it tends to immobilize the black community. Socialism, of course, is the direction of our struggle, but that requires a struggle for democracy and it is possible to change the status beyond tokenism under capitalism. The question is how do you change the power structure. The most important weapon is through the electoral process, and we must fight to enlarge Negro representation. We must struggle to alter the political power relationship. The Party policy in the past was not wrong. It was, in some instances, however, inadequate. It was correct for the Party to change its slogan to self-determination for the "black belt." We held, however, that the Negro question was still a national question, but we did not probe deeply enough into the characteristics that are new in Negro life. The line of the Party must be

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constantly reviewed and new factors added and we underestimated some of those factors. The transition from the South to the North by large numbers of Negro people did not automatically make proletariats out of the Negro migrants. There was still many hangovers of the Southern rural background. Our line was sufficient to put us in a better position in relationship to the current nationalistic movement. There is a problem of conservatism in our ranks and the independent role of the Party is not sufficiently far out. We still tend to tail the mass movement. We must identify with all of the advance forces and we must fight for the coalition of Negro and labor. We must make a change in our approach to the building trades. Our general task includes--1. reversing the current trend that has a danger of developing into a race war; 2. to reverse the racist policy in the building trade union; and 3. the organization of the unorganized. We must associate ourselves with the fight for political and economic power of the Negro people in the ghetto. We must be in a position to work with the moderates as well as with the militants in the ghetto. With a unified struggle, the Party is decisive in fighting for black-white unity. *Q*

(U) The discussion that followed agreed with LIGHTFOOT's report with no major controversy developing in many areas.

All that was stated was identification with the report. ~~X~~

(U) GUS HALL spoke during the discussion with emphasis on the struggle against racism in the white communities. This he singled out as the major weakness. Since there was no basic disagreement during the discussion, the reporter will not go into it any further. ~~X~~

(U) After the report, the discussion lasted only the evening and then the group broke down into panels that were held at the Park Sheraton Hotel. There were six panels dealing with the following topics:

The Negro in the Arts, [] by []

Political Action in the Negro Community, []
by []

The African American woman question, [] by
[]

Work in the White Community, chaired by GIL GREEN;

Techniques and Tactics of struggle, chaired by
ROSCOE PROCTOR;

Economic Problems of the Negro Community, []
by []

on Saturday evening, October 14, 1967.

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(U) The only panel that this reporter could speak of was the Political Action in the Negro Community panel. That panel was attended by the following:

[REDACTED]
JIM JACKSON
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
A white female from New York
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

(U) [REDACTED] opened this panel indicating that there was no prepared report because the person responsible for the panel was not available. However, he felt the panel should discuss the general problems of political action. [REDACTED] gave a little picture of the successful campaign in Chicago for the aldermanic election and the formation of the independent political action organization. [REDACTED] also indicated that there was difficulty in developing the New Politics movement. X

(U) The discussion was general and the only significant development was the participation of JIM JACKSON. JACKSON indicated, in essence, that he was opposed to developing a line where the main emphasis in the ghetto was for political action around New Politics. His emphasis was on independent X

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(U) campaigns or any campaigns that guaranteed the expansion of the maximum number of Negro candidates. He put emphasis on the STOKES campaign and the HATCHER campaign. ✕

(U) [redacted] became very upset because he had been trying to fight for a position on New Politics. ✕

(U) The meeting did not resolve the problem, but it was agreed that it should be brought back to the main body. ✕

(U) Additional questions were raised in the panel on the possibility of putting a presidential ticket from the Party as a write-in in 1968, but this was also suggested that it be brought back to the conference, and the meeting adjourned. ✕

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(U) The meeting reopened Sunday, October 15, 1967, back to the Hotel Victoria Abbey with continued discussion and then reports from the panels. ✕

(U) The first report from the panel was by [redacted] on the Negro in the Arts. [redacted] indicated that the panel itself did not materialize the preceding evening because no one attended, so he would give the report that he was going to give to the panel. He gave the report and the essence of the report was an examination of the position of Negro artists, writers and ✕

(U) performers in the country. He discussed the content of their work as being mainly in the black power stream. He gave many examples of restrictions and discriminations but also emphasized how these artists were now working to improve the image of black America. The only proposal projected was a national conference of African American artists to take place in the future. He received a standing ovation because of the excellence of style and content of his report. ✕

(U) The second report was from the Black Women's panel and this was given by [redacted]. The content dealt with the double discrimination against Negro women, the lack of leadership to the problems of Negro women, the weaknesses in the Party in understanding the necessity for the organization of Negro women, and a series of other examples and problems facing the Negro women's movement. ✕

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(U) The next was a report on the work in the white community by [redacted] indicated that his panel discussed the ideological struggle against racism, the struggle that must take place in the labor movement and a series of other generalizations dealing with the problem of white people participating in the white communities against racism. He ✕

(U) emphasized the creation of forms of struggle such as the New Politics Movement and other such movements. ✕

(U) The next report was from ROSCOE PROCTOR on the strategy and techniques of the movement. PROCTOR reported that the panel discussed the question of violence. The panel reaffirmed, he said, that the oppressed people have the right to overthrow their oppressors by any means possible. This right is guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence. However, it all depends on time, place and circumstances. The current emphasis on violence by sections of the black movement is due to their lack of confidence that you can win the white working class or you can unify the black community. Alternatives to violence are also unclear in their minds. The Party must denounce irresponsible terrorist riotist activity. We reject such violence and although the uprisings did dramatize the oppression of the Negro people, they were spontaneous, unorganized and not directed. Such violence is meaningless in terms of liberation. The Party supports the right of self-defense. Only when the masses have decided, through struggle, that there are no more open channels and when the enemy refuses to grant their demands, will violence be the only alternative, ✕

but premature violence the Party must oppose. ✕

The next question PROCTOR discussed was reform and revolution. PROCTOR indicated that the Party must fight for reform within the framework of capitalism. The only question is that how do we struggle to guarantee that the reform is not viewed as the answer to the problem. The programs that we should project must go beyond what we feel the power structure will grant but based on what the community needs. We must relate the partial demands to more advanced demands. In order to fulfill any of this, the Party must be in the black community. We must fight for a unified program of black and white. We must fight for a class analysis. We must help bring into being left forms in the ghetto. We must project issues that can bring about mass forms of organization. The tactics should include boycotts, work stoppage, the commemoration of black heroes, black caucuses in the labor movement and in other organizations, a discussion bulletin from the Negro Commission, more full time black organizers in the Party, perhaps a regional setup in the districts, special budget for Negro work and a special approach to Negro youth. He closed by predicting that the Party can be built. ✕

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The next report was from the panel of Economics by

[redacted] gave statistics on the worsening economic condition in the ghetto. He proposed a long range strategic program but first, the Party should reject the third world concept and second, reject the analysis that the black ghettos are an internal colony. The immediate questions are:

1. Organization of the unorganized;
2. Fight Jim Crow in the building trades;
3. A shorter work week;
4. A crash program to combat hunger and poverty;
5. A new look at the NALC;
6. Attention to the youth;
7. A more closer study of A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH's freedom budget.

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The next report was on Political Power led by [redacted]

[redacted]. This report indicated that the panel was weakened by the fact that the person selected to lead it was not available and, therefore, there was no formal report presented. However, the discussion went around five or six major questions:

1. On the emphasis for the Party to support the STOKES-HATCHER campaigns;
2. That the Party's participation be in the direction of strengthening labor's role in these campaigns;

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- (U) 3. Maximum emphasis on the increase of Negro elected officials, that this be the main push for the Party;
4. On New Politics, a criticism was leveled against the main report for not including perspectives for New Politics; therefore, it weakened the discussion in the panel. However, the panel feels that New Politics should be supported wherever possible.

(U) The panel also projected an examination of national Party write-in campaign of President and Vice President. Lastly, an examination of the proposal from the Newark black power conference that projected a national black convention in 1968.

(U) This ended the panel reports. The conference then went into a discussion of these reports. All of the reports were adopted with very few amendments until ROSCOE PROCTOR proposed that the establishment of black Party clubs be considered as a form in the black communities. The debate was quite extensive and lasted almost an hour which ran the conference overtime. The essence of the debate was the concern that PROCTOR's proposal would formalize Jim Crow clubs. PROCTOR tried to explain he was only discussing it as a tactic. The resolution of the debate was the withdrawal of the motion and the adoption of the amendment that had been made by not to have black clubs. The question was referred to a future Negro Commission meeting. It got sharp because as part of the discussion, PROCTOR indicated he felt that perhaps a black caucus in the Party should also be sanctioned and this helped heat up the debate.

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Date received <u>11/16/67</u>	Received from (name or symbol number) <u>[Redacted]</u>	Received by <u>[Redacted]</u>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

11/16/67

Date(s) of activity

LITERATURE

Brief description of activity or material

PUBLICATION "REPORT TO NAT'L CONF
CP, USA BY CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
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1	
FBI — LOS ANGELES	

By Claude Lightfoot,
Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs

Subject: TO SAVE AMERICA, THESE THINGS ARE REQUIRED:

It has been historical, as well as current experience that a coalescence of struggle of black and white at the grass roots level is the main prerequisite for social advances in our country. Yet, at a time when the nation faces unprecedented problems such as war and peace, the growth of a fascist danger and new economic difficulties, to many people, black and white unity has become a dirty word. Germs of disunity, germs of a cancerous nature, are circulating in the body of the American people, and unless radical surgery is performed, many of the vital organs will be lost, if not the entire body. Patent medicines no longer suffice to meet this growing crisis.

To help unravel the reasons for this situation, we shall discuss the character of the present period, look into what is new in racism, define the nature of the present wave of black nationalism, discuss methods of struggle required for today, estimate the Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years. And finally, we shall determine what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today.

The Negro question cannot be abstracted from the general political situation within the country. The Proctor article estimates what the general situation in the black community will be for the next 10 or 15 years, but in my judgment it does so in isolation from the perspective for the country as a whole for the next 10 to 15 years. Proctor writes:

In the next decade all indications are that black national consciousness, black nationalism will undergo an explosive growth within the United States. Negro migration to the cities, the cities' growing deterioration, the failure of society, including the trade unions, to fully integrate Negroes, the worsening economic conditions of the Negroes and their growing relation with colored people on a world scale will help to feed black nationalist tendencies and growth.

Now, Proctor does not say whether this black nationalism that he speaks of will be a form of nationalism directed against imperialism, that is, of a positive nature, or whether it will be of a divisive separatist nature such as is embodied in the policies and program of Elijah Muhammad. While he does not indicate what direction it will take, he presents a catalog of the conditions which will promote this national consciousness over the next decade. I conclude, therefore, that he anticipates that over the next 10 or 15 years the problems of worsening conditions of Negroes, including the refusal of the trade unions to integrate, deterioration in the cities, migration to the big cities, etc.; will continue to mount. In other words, things will get worse. And if they do, the trend of black nationalism will be toward a more reactionary character.

The development of black nationalism in one direction or another is not a thing in itself; it is a reaction to the general political situation in the country at large. Hence, in order not to err in our judgments about the Negro question, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the general trends in the country.

We are at one of those great crossroads in history where mankind will either advance toward a high plateau of social progress, eliminating all that is vile, reprehensible, dehumanizing and exploitative, or toward the destruction of man's existence on this planet. Which way is yet to be determined.

We Communists are not passive observers on the social scene. We are, or aspire to be, social and political scientists. And in this connection we always seek ways and means of channelizing events in a progressive direction. We examine things as they are at a given moment. We seek out the obstacles which interrupt the smooth flow of progress. We work to uncover the contradictions whose resolution will permit a flow of developments in a given direction.

Basically, this growing strife arises from a capitalist system in decay. But in particular it is an outgrowth of a war policy. Our government, committed for the last twenty years to a program designed to save the collapsing system of colonialism and imperialism in general, and to promote the domination of U.S. capitalism and imperialism in particular, has brought us to this situation on the home front. A lop-sided war budget with its huge expenditures for military hardware, with its dollars for the CIA to bribe and corrupt, leaves little to combat growing problems of poverty, technological displacement of workers and deterioration within the ghettos and cities to replace obsolete housing, and to create a higher quality of education. These problems, moreover, are greatly aggravated by the new technological and scientific advance in production.

As a consequence of this development, new relations between workers and business, new measures by the state for the welfare of the workers must be evolved. The slowness of such changes is producing great hardships and insecurity for all strata of the American working people.

With the growth of struggle by various sectors of the American people, with the continuing expansion of objective circumstances that induce an enlargement of struggles, one would expect that the pro-democratic masses would be assuming commanding heights; one would think that the future would appear hopeful and that few would become engulfed in despair.

The existence of many contradictions in the nature of things at present accelerates a growth of frustrations, a groping for new directional signals and, in some instances, hopelessness and despair. We shall proceed to examine some of these contradictions.

The present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence. Unlike the decade of the fifties, the mid-point of the 1960s is marked by ever-increasing waves of struggle by almost all strata of the American people. Yesterday it was mainly the Negro movement that protested injustice. Today the youth, the church, labor and the intelligentsia, in varying degrees, have taken the path of struggle. These forces are converging on the war policies of the Johnson Administration and are creating a deep-going crisis in foreign affairs. The peace movement in our country is perhaps the greatest in history. Seldom has a people challenged its government's pursuance of war with the vigor and determination now manifested by the American people.

The growth of automation and cybernation places the economy in a precarious position and leads workers to the path of struggle to a degree not witnessed in recent years. Strikes are breaking out in all directions. They involve all categories of workers, the more affluent and the less affluent.

As we near the year's end, there have been at least 150 outbreaks of violence in more than 120 cities. Over \$270 million in property has been destroyed. It is estimated that 118 people have been killed and nearly 4,000 injured. Roughly 4,000 have been arrested, and National Guardsmen have been called out 23 times.

This is the balance sheet, and the end is nowhere in sight. Indeed, there are those who now see "the long hot summers" extended into "the long cold winters." Especially is this shown by the crime rates. These, a barometer of the sick society and its social turbulence, have reached fantastic proportions.

The FBI announced on September 15 that crime in the United States had risen 17 per cent during the past year and predicted that by the year's end the increase in all types of crime would total 62 per cent over the last six years. Vandalism is on the increase. In 1966 the cost of vandalism in New York schools totaled \$5 million. In Washington, D.C., window breakage and theft in schools last year cost more than \$214,000.

In every aspect of American life there is an unprecedented degree of dissatisfaction. The people are striking back. Sometimes they strike according to plan. Sometimes they erupt spontaneously. And sometimes they hit out blindly. But whatever the form they take, these are all struggles by the people against a system that hurts so many of them.

Basically, this growing strife arises from a capitalist system in decay. But in particular it is an outgrowth of a war policy. Our government, committed for the last twenty years to a program designed to save the collapsing system of colonialism and imperialism in general, and to promote the domination of U.S. capitalism and imperialism in particular, has brought us to this situation on the home front. A lopsided war budget with its huge expenditures for military hardware, with its dollars for the CIA to bribe and corrupt, leaves little to combat growing problems of poverty, technological displacement of workers and deterioration within the ghettos and cities, to replace obsolete housing, and to create a higher quality of education. These problems, moreover, are greatly aggravated by the new technological and scientific advance in production.

As a consequence of this development, new relations between workers and business, new measures by the state for the welfare of the workers must be evolved. The slowness of such changes is producing great hardships and insecurity for all strata of the American working people.

With the growth of struggle by various sectors of the American people, with the continuing expansion of objective circumstances that induce an enlargement of struggles, one would expect that the pro-democratic masses would be assuming commanding heights; one would think that the future would appear hopeful and that

As Hall indicated, in those circumstances confusion reigns supreme, and, as Gil Green once wrote, the real enemy - big business - becomes "the enemy forgotten."

The seeds of current trends of disunity have been assiduously planted in the past several years. That the enemy is working overtime is very evident.

We witnessed two parallel developments in 1964 which helped to heighten tensions among the people. One was the forays of George C. Wallace from Alabama into the Northern communities. Now, it is clear that Wallace could not win any election, could not win the nomination, could not make any significant campaign. The main reason Wallace came into the North in the 1964 elections was to make an appeal to prejudice among white workers, and wherever he went, whether it was Gary, Baltimore or other cities, this was the main pitch. And in some respects it paid off. The large number of white workers who supported this avowed racist was cause for great concern.

The over-all strategy called for the organization of a so-called "white backlash." This idea made its appearance in the 1964 elections on the eve of the greatest coalescence of pro-democratic forces in the history of our country, aimed at the defeat of Goldwater, with labor, the liberal community, the middle strata, the farmers and the Negro people uniting politically as never before. This was one prong of the effort

Professor Seymour Melman performed a historic task when, in his work, Our Depleted Society (Holt, New York, 1965), he laid bare all the contradictions within a war economy and hopefully looked to the future. He wrote:

I expect that diverse groups in American life will discover common ground as they each seek ways to improve their own lot. Americans who suffer directly from the depletion process, or whose prospects for a really better life are held up by the depleted society - all these will be acting in parallel, even in concert, to accelerate the reconstruction of American life.

The various components of the pro-democratic forces in the country are in large part already in the arena of struggle. In some instances they act in a parallel manner; in others, they tend to merge (as witness the merging of efforts by the peace and civil rights forces). And yet, at this moment, there are growing clashes and cleavages between forces who have so much in common. The growing strife between the forces who should and must unite if "we are to overcome" is the most challenging problem facing the people's movements. It is the most important problem before this conference.

What are the factors engendering disunity?

Objective circumstances increasingly are compelling all pro-democratic masses into the arena of struggle. But consciousness of the interrelation of these struggles, of how they impinge on each other, and of what must be done to effect greater correlation, lags dangerously behind.

Thus, the main weaknesses lie in the realm of ideas, concepts and ideology. And it is in this area that a widespread counteroffensive by reactionary elements has come into prominence.

The forms that this offensive takes are many, but the decisive weapon is still racist ideology. But just to repeat "racism" would be meaningless. We must examine the new circumstances in which this poison is being spread. We must uncover the new objective and subjective bases that are the springboard for its renewed growth.

Historically, racism has been the main ideological weapon which our ruling class has used to divide the ranks of the working people. About its harmful effects, Gus Hall wrote:

Bigotry is like a poison gas deliberately designed to incapacitate all opposition. Like such a gas it distorts reality and brings on a state of confusion. A friend appears as an enemy, an enemy as a friend.

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to use the weapon of white supremacy, of prejudice, of fear and insecurity, to mobilize white workers to throw the ranks of black and white into further disarray.

The second development in 1964 was the refusal to seat the delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention. The insistence of President Johnson, and of outstanding labor and liberal spokesmen, on forcing the Freedom Democratic Party to accept a compromise with the Dixiecrat South, proved to be one of the most harmful actions in recent years. This laid the basis for the serious division in the labor-liberal-Negro coalition that followed 1964.

James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was correct in calling it a "profile in treachery." For a new factor had now emerged, though it was not too easily discernible at that moment. That is, the ideological assault now came not only from ultra-Right forces such as Wallace and his supporters, but also, simultaneously, from leaders of the liberal and labor coalition who moved in for the purpose of checkmating the further acceleration of the Negro people's movement. The joining together of these two currents laid the seeds of accelerated tendencies of disunity among the people.

What is the background of these developments? Why did Walter Reuther, Humphrey and others who had distinguished themselves as great liberals, as friends of the Negro people, as staunch civil rights fighters, act as they did at Atlantic City? Comrade Henry Winston points out that their previous position was rooted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision. That decision, he says, was a class decision. U.S. imperialism was prepared at that moment to make some concessions to the Negro movement for two purposes: (1) to try to overcome the racist image the U.S. had won for itself as a result of oppression of the Negro people; and (2) to mobilize the Negro people's movement for the war effort.

Beginning at Atlantic City and afterward, however, the gears shifted and the demands of the Negro people's movement went into motion for more fundamental changes: not mere palliatives and superficial reforms. Power was placed on the agenda. The economic aspect of the question was brought to the forefront, and demands were placed that go to the heart of reversing the war policies of U.S. imperialism, and with this, of removing many of the domestic camouflages. This was the hard political reality underlying a situation which now began to work in reverse.

Consequently, if we make an assessment of racist ideology in the U.S. today, we have to take into account the fact that there is at the present time no section of the ruling class that is working for the limited goals and limited purposes of some years ago. Today, most of the so-called liberal community joins with the ultra-Right for the purpose of defeating the efforts of the Black People's Movement for radical and deep-going changes in their status.

A good example of this change is the way in which the police power of the State is employed. Several years ago the police power of the federal government was used to back civil rights efforts in the South. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were compelled by an outraged nation to send troops to the South. Today, however, the police forces in many cities allegedly ruled by liberals not only are used against the Negro people but are in fact the main forces provoking violence and disorder. And in every instance, beginning with the situation in New York City under the liberal Mayor Wagner, the police force has been absolved. Furthermore, the police power of the federal government backs up the racist attacks against Negroes and blames the victims. And President Johnson makes appeals which can only lead white people, on the citizen level, to take up arms against black people.

The main problem is not that the ruling circles are using racist ideology. There is nothing new in this. What is important is that there is an insufficient response among whites, a failure to act at the grass roots level. Hence it is not enough for progressives and radicals to explain the source of racism. Most people of good will understand that. What is most important is to discover how and why this poison can operate so easily among the masses. And when this is understood, maybe we can "overcome." For no matter in how racist a fashion the ruling class behaves, if there is no acceptance of racism among the masses, this behavior will be of little consequence.

In addition to the betrayal by certain labor and liberal forces in the country, there is a material basis for the growth of chauvinist attitudes among workers. Racist ideology finds a fertile ground in two significant areas of daily life, first in the job,

problems flowing not only from a war economy but also from scientific and technological changes, and second in the area of housing.

The growth of job displacement and unemployment by automation in industry has created new problems for the American workers. With no clear solution in view, the working class lives in constant fear of what tomorrow will bring. Thus, the problem of job insecurity tend by itself to become a driving force for tensions among workers, rather than to lead them to approach it as a class problem, as a problem of all workers -- the more affluent, the less affluent, black and white. There are strong tendencies among white workers to seek solutions at the expense of their black brothers. This adds to the problems of the black brother, who is already bearing the brunt of the problem. It takes the form of greater unemployment, underemployment and other dehumanizing conditions. These are ongoing problems which daily get worse, not better.

Indicative of this trend are the findings of a recent Labor Department survey covering over twenty black ghettos. It notes the following:

16.9 per cent of those employed were working only part time, though trying to find a full-time job. The comparable national figure is 2.3 per cent. 21 per cent of the full-time workers earn less than \$60.00 a week, the equivalent of the \$3,000 annual poverty line. The national figure is 15.4 per cent. 37 per cent of the slum families reported annual incomes under \$3,000 compared with 25 per cent nationally. The average family income was about \$3,800 compared with the national average of \$6,300. ... 47 per cent of the families reported income from unemployment insurance, welfare and other non-employment sources.

This survey shows why Black America is increasingly becoming alienated from White America.

One of the problems automation poses is the necessity for workers to improve their skills. But in this connection certain unions stand out as the main obstacles to Negroes acquiring skill. Historically, the building trades unions have been one of the main barriers. Today, no less than yesterday, these unions emerge as the greatest scabs in the labor movement, the main source of friction between black and white workers. Big business and the government utilize this situation to throw workers into competition with each other, feed anti-union sentiments among black workers and make the business community and the government appear as the real friends of the black workers.

For example, look at this newspaper report of a dialogue between Senator Robert Kennedy and a building trades leader, headed: "Kennedy Declares Building Unions Fail to Admit Negroes." Haggerty, one of the building trades leaders, responded: "We can't take aboard a boy that can't read or a boy that's a school dropout." Peter T. Shulman, president of the Plumbers' Union, said: "We have certain minimum requirements." Kennedy replied: "I would think that there are more than 21 boys in all of Cincinnati who can read."

What is the image here? That the government is on the side of the Negroes and the trade unions are against them.

Other headlines read: "Trade Union Bias Found Unchecked." "Apprenticeship Plan Excludes Minority Workers." "California Panel Finds Union Bias." "U.S. Warns Union on Training Bias. Sets Compliance Deadline for 500-Apprentice Plan." "Union Accused at State Hearing." One of the most scandalous of all is the following: "Negroes Upheld in Sheetmetal Apprentice Test." This was a test in which, of a total of 147 applicants, 24 were Negroes. Of these, 17 passed with the highest grades. But the union contested the examination as not being reflective of the aptitudes of these Negroes, and the court had to hand down a decision that the test was all right and that these youngsters do have some intelligence. Again, the court against the union. And again, it is the electrical workers' union, the plumbers' union and other building trades unions that are cited as the chief culprits. And these are only a small fraction of the newspaper headlines and articles on this problem.

Thus, a comprehensive program of jobs for all workers with consideration to the special problems of the black worker is the road to reducing the effect of the pro-fascist, racist offensive. This will be dealt with in greater detail below.

There are also some new developments in the area of housing which require a fresh look. The problem of housing as a generator of conflict between black and white workers dates back to the end of World War II. Prior to the war's end, a great deal of interracial activity had been built up on the job level in industry. But at that time the ghettos had not enlarged too much and there was not too much pressure to break out, and inasmuch as the black and white workers found so much in common on the job fighting the boss for better working conditions, friction was at a minimum.

In the postwar years, both the black and white workers accumulated some small savings with which to purchase a home. Large and continuous migrations of Negroes from the South resulted in the already overcrowded ghettos becoming altogether unlivable, and the Negro began a struggle to break out. Those with enough capital sought home ownership in white neighborhoods. The Supreme Court in 1949 ruled out restrictive covenants and gave legal sanction to the breaking up of the overcrowded ghetto.

But the Negro found a "not welcome" sign as he sought refuge from slum life in other neighborhoods. More often than not such signs took the form of mobs, or other forms of violence. The black worker now found his white working-class brother a part of the mobs, and this increased his distrust of all whites. Thought he, "Yesterday I believed that this man was my friend; today I find him in the camp of my enemies."

After a number of skirmishes in most cities, white Americans fled to suburbia. The ghettos were enlarged, and in most instances Negroes occupied the entire center of the city.

Today the problem has been compounded. The migrations from the South did not cease. They continued to the point where, in a number of cities, Negroes are in the process of becoming the majority of the population. And now the overcrowded conditions are forcing some Negroes to seek a solution in suburbia. The marches led by Dr. King in Chicago last year unleashed a fury on the part of whites not witnessed in recent years. Whites who fled from the city center several years ago now find themselves again hemmed in. Not even the suburbs give them peace from this ongoing black invasion.

This is the process taking place on the housing front which engenders racist onslaughts against black people anew. Behind it is an economic problem coupled with racist ideology of long standing.

Thus, racism is propelled forward today by black people making demands which dig deeper and deeper into the war policy of the government, demands which are not only anti-imperialist but are increasingly becoming anti-capitalist. It is accelerated by many liberals joining the ultra-Right attack on the movement. Racism is also fed by deteriorating economic conditions on the job and housing fronts and a failure to evolve a comprehensive program to meet these new problems. Resulting therefrom is greater friction between black and white.

Therefore, a radical change in the status of black people, a change toward greater security and a higher standard of living for all workers, requires a radical shift from racist ideology among white workers. This is a fundamental prerequisite for building a powerful coalition of black and white in the conditions of today. And it is only through such a coalition that America is going to be saved from the catastrophes threatening it.

Racism is also a major contributor to moods of black nationalism. The recent period has also witnessed a tremendous growth in this direction.

What is the source of this trend? What is the main content? In what way does it differ from black nationalist trends of other times? What should be the attitude of Communists to this development?

Black nationalism today arises in part from a feeling of being rejected by the white community. Historically, there have always existed two Americas, one black and one white. At the close of World War II, as we have indicated, the main thrust of the Negro movement in Northern areas was to break out of the ghetto. The main trend in the Negro community was for full integration into every institution of American life. But the Negro didn't break out of the ghetto; when they temporarily succeeded, whites fled, thus enlarging the area of ghetto life rather than eliminating it. This experience has left the Negro bitter and ever more distrustful of whites. Forced to live in the ghetto under conditions which are almost indescribable, the economic conditions of the mass of the Negro people continually worsened as those of other sections of the population, including some Negroes, got better. The contrast between affluence for a few Negroes and poverty for the mass of black people has been a driving force engendering even greater resentment of whites.

Thus many Negroes when they sum up the experiences of the last two decades, conclude that integration in the abstract will not automatically solve the problem of being black, that even in integrated houses, schools and other institutions, the Negro can and does remain a second-class citizen, with little or no say on decisions which have great meaning for his life.

In these circumstances, most Negroes have come to conclude that the exercise of freedom requires dealing with the other side from positions of strength, rather than depending on "good will" or "moral persuasion."

Another factor of no small importance is the discovery by many Negroes that they had been brain-washed by a white-led society. They had been led to believe that their ancestral background came from levels of social organization not much higher than animal life. Today, as they witness Africans playing a major role in all the affairs of mankind, this evokes from them a feeling of great pride in their own race, in the color of Black, and brings out a deep desire for greater identity with their past. Previous tendencies to try to escape the "sin" of being black are now replaced with an emphasis on being black.

These moods are also in the background of the slogan of "black power" and the emphasis of control over ghetto life. Most whites do not comprehend these psychological factors and feel rejected when Negroes place their emphasis in this direction.

A third factor producing a black nationalist path of development is the rise of three major categories of people in the ghetto. One category consists of the more recent waves of migrants from the South who are forced to go on relief or who find employment of the most menial nature in the service industries, where the pay is often less than what people receive on relief. People who fall in this category are called the underemployed. In most cases they are people who came from the rural South with little or no industrial experience; and in the North they work mostly in unorganized shops where their contacts with unions or with whites are minimal. And even when they are in unions, these are mostly unions headed by racketeers who work with the bosses to keep them in their unenviable position. People in this category make up a large segment of most black communities.

An NALC found that hundreds of thousands in the Chicago area earn less than \$3,000 a year. They are employed in industries such as apparel, merchandising, laundry and dry cleaning, hospitals, repair services, etc. The survey concludes: "In the greater Chicago area, at least 515,000 are working poor; of these, at least 400,000 live in the city of Chicago, the overwhelming part in the slums and ghettos."

The Negro population in Chicago is estimated at anywhere between 800,000 to 1,000,000. The underemployed represent at least one-third of this population. This group feels totally alienated from white society and isn't interested in building interracial life. It is therefore a major source of present-day nationalism.

Another category which engenders a drive toward nationalism is Negro youth, both the students and the unemployed.

In his book Slums and Suburbs, written in 1961 (before the ghetto uprisings), James B. Conant said of these strata:

In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70 per cent of the boys and girls aged 16 to 21 were out of school and unemployed.

pitch has been against the power of the state -- the police apparatus, the ruling circles -- and against business elements within the ghetto. There are few instances where Negroes have ganged up and beaten whites promiscuously in their communities, as was the case in race riots in the early 1920s. The Negro is not seeking a confrontation along such lines today.

The following description of nationalism presented by Barbara Ward, an internationally known political analyst, portrays the main content of this movement:

We know that the passionate desire of men to see themselves as equal with other human beings without distinction of class, or sex, or race, or nationhood is one of the driving forces of our day and I believe it is the taproot of modern nationalism. For this reason nationalism today comes to us in great measure in the form of equality, the equality of nations one with each other, the equality of esteem and prestige that comes from not being run by other nations. This is one of the great drives of our world and when we discuss nationalism, I think it is legitimate to unite it with the idea of equality.

Thus, at present the main content of black nationalism is of a progressive character. It does not exclude Negro-white unity, but it demands that such unity be meaningful and between equal partners. Roscoe Proctor was correct when he wrote:

Total integration is a recognized valid concept and is the ultimate goal of most black power advocates. Their desire to build black power is a practical recognition of a necessary process through which a genuine integration can be achieved. ("Notes on 'Black Power' Concept," Political Affairs, March 1967.)

This is also what is underlined by SNCC. They do not reject the necessity of coalition. And so, I would say that the predominant content of today's nationalism is not anti-white. It is distrustful of whites and has little confidence in their goodwill. True, whatever goodwill toward whites still exists in the black communities is evaporating very quickly, and what was the case yesterday may not be so tomorrow. But this analysis is being made on the basis of what is presently the case.

What should be the attitude of the CPUSA to these new nationalist currents? First of all, we must draw a line between nationalism and nationalism. The old folks have a saying, "Everybody talking about heaven ain't going there." To paraphrase this, we may say, "Everybody talking black, everybody promoting nationalism, don't really reflect the needs of black people."

Nationalism, historically appearing in many different climes, in many different forms, in many different forms, in many different tongues, through many different colors, assumes either a progressive path of development, or a reactionary one. There is no third way.

In present-day circumstances, we must draw a line between what is progressive and what is reactionary. The brand of nationalism expressed by the Black Muslim movement is basically a reactionary path. We can understand and sympathize with the conditions which are at the root of this movement. We can hail the many positive strengths which it generates, such as race pride and the dignity it conveys to its members. We feel that its members can make important contributions to the general welfare such as the courageous opposition to the war in Vietnam by Muhammad Ali.

But when the movement encourages non-participation in day-to-day struggles for partial demands, when it calls for complete séparation of the races on all levels, when it demeans everybody with a white face, when it glorifies everybody with a black face--then, clearly, it is out of touch with reality and leads up a blind alley. Furthermore, wittingly or not, it helps to lay the basis for genocidal treatment of the American Negro. For the divisions among black and white at that level can only pave the way for an American brand of fascism.

We entertain hopes that these trends can be overcome and that the organization can take its place as a positive force for black freedom. At the same time, this analysis does not call for total rejection of everything the Muslims stand for. Even their ultimate goal, a black-led republic within continental United States, if manifested by a large segment of the black community in a socialist America, would be honored if American Communists had anything to do about it. Moreover, under such conditions, a separate state would receive the fullest economic, political and social cooperation, to make of it truly a free and prosperous community.

But the basic content of the main waves of nationalism, as we have shown, is progressive and goes in the direction of a struggle against capitalism and imperialism. As such, we support it and will do all within our power to help achieve the goals the black freedom fighters place.

We especially identify with our people in finding beauty in being black, pride in being black, and in seeking to reclaim much of a lost culture and heritage. This usage of the term "black" as applied to our people is a rejection of a former notion of black as being synonymous with evil, the devil, disaster or other undesirable things. We identify with this urge, notwithstanding that many of us will still use the words "black," "Afro-American" or "Negro" interchangeably.

But while we generally associate ourselves with the progressive content of nationalism, we do not uncritically embrace every tactic or method used by people who can be regarded as generally progressive. There are many situations in which, as a matter of principle, we are compelled to disagree. We reject those concepts in our ranks which fail to identify with the new nationalist urges among the people, but we likewise reject those opportunist trends which embrace uncritically everything that is advanced under a nationalist cover. This latter point is important because, while a trend may be progressive today, it may also contain seeds which would make it reactionary tomorrow. Failure to fight a minor disease today can open the door to a major disease tomorrow. Thus, it is necessary to fight colds as insurance against more serious developments.

In summary, we reject reactionary versions of black nationalism. We seek a progressive direction. We also fight reactionary tendencies within a generally progressive trend. Finally, we seek to infuse a greater class content into the movement generally, for only in this way can there be a sustained progressive development to a higher form of social organization, to a form of society that will eradicate all manifestations of racism, chauvinism, reactionary nationalism and provide for the full flowering of the Brotherhood of Man.

The struggle against nationalism of a reactionary character is a requirement for the building of a coalition of black and white, which is required to save America from impending catastrophe.

The new stage of the freedom struggle is marked by a growing crisis in techniques and methods. Those which sufficed yesterday are inadequate to meet the demands posed by the black people's movements today; consequently, much confusion exists as to what to do to compel substantial changes.

Floyd McKissick, executive director of the Committee on Racial Equality, calls for discarding the demonstration form of struggle. He says: "The nation does not respond to non-violent demonstrations." McKissick says he knows because he has taken part in "at least fifty of them."

Martin Luther King, after the outbreak of violence on the West Side of Chicago last year, said that the power structure responds with concessions only to acts of violence. And he now calls for a massive civil disobedience campaign.

Julian Bond, youthful black legislator from Georgia, has been quoted as saying that nothing is left to the Negro but to resort to violence, although he also noted that nothing would be achieved by violence. Some of the younger radicals around the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, like Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, appeal for guerrilla warfare within the ghettos and cities in the United States. These young people take notice of the growing conspiracy on the part of the government, as well as ultra-Right organizations, to carry out a program of mass annihilation of black people. In this regard, their call to arms is still of a defensive nature.

force of arms should be supported by all in the country who stand against injustice. However, it is one thing to defend oneself from attack by all necessary means, and it is another to choose this way as the main method of battle. As Communists pointed out in various Smith Act trials, there may well come a time when other forms of struggle must be supplemented by armed struggle. But this should not be dealt with as if it were a universal necessity. It is a matter of time, place and circumstances.

Before anyone begins talking about the necessity for armed guerrilla warfare in the cities of the United States, an assessment should be made as to whether all other forms have become obsolete and incapable of meeting the problems. If this is found to be the case, then revolutionary forces should prepare for such struggles. But if not, proposals for armed action can have fatal consequences. History records many examples of successful uprisings; but it also records that premature and un-called for actions along this line have led minority groups to slaughter and caused movements to be set back for many years. Such an important question, therefore, should not be dealt with off the top of one's head.

A superficial examination of the present moment could lead to conclusions that we have reached the point where all other methods have failed. For twelve long years the black community, especially in the South, has been engaged in massive non-violent methods of struggle. The demonstrations of this period have no parallel in American history. The demonstrators have also shown a patience that has few parallels. Unarmed men, women and children have flung themselves before the power structure almost as sacrificial offerings; they have been murdered, beaten, jailed and set upon with ferocious dogs and cow prods; they have been the victims of the most savage and inhuman terror. And now, twelve years later, the balance sheet shows only token gains. Jim Crow and segregation are still a basic part of American life.

Our youth have seen their cries for relief go unheeded by the white-led power structure. This has impelled some of them to call for more violent methods.

Another factor which weighs heavily in the negative attitude of some freedom fighters toward demonstrations and other milder forms of struggle is their discovery that to win their full goals the social system of capitalism will have to be changed. Some of them conclude that since capitalism is the source of the problem, then why engage in actions that at best bring only temporary relief.

If capitalism is the source of the inferior status of black people, it would indeed follow that only with the elimination of the system can Negroes gain equality. ~~In a general sense, this is true. But from this truth, some wrong and harmful conclusions are drawn.~~

There are some on the Left who advance the idea that no substantial change in the Negro's status is possible in the capitalist framework, that only token gains can be made. For example, Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, in their book, Monopoly Capital (Monthly Review Press, New York 1966), say the following: "Today Negroes are on the bottom, and there is neither room above nor anyone ready to take their place. Thus, only individuals can move up, not the group as such. Reforms help the few, not the many." (p. 279.)

If the Negro people's movement accepted this viewpoint, the struggle would be set back for generations to come. To tell the Negro masses that only a few individuals can move upward so long as capitalism exists, is to tell them to sit around and wait until socialism comes on the agenda, or until then just to propagandize for socialism in the abstract.

To bring about socialism requires a process of struggle varying according to the given conditions. Those who advocate a policy which sees no progress for the masses under capitalism are like a farmer who expects a bumper crop although he tilled no soil, planted no seeds and cultivated no plants.

The road to a socialist reorganization of society is no longer a matter of hypothesis or guess-work. One-third of the world has taken the socialist path and another sector among the newly-liberated countries is heading in that direction. Thus, we have before us a wealth of experience. And as the struggle for socialism goes forward in the rest of the world, new experiences will be added.

In the political arena, the main problem is not how to get a response from the power structure as it presently exists. The problem is how basically to change this structure. This is more difficult. It is less dramatic than a gun battle in the street; it requires much more painstaking work. But it has been wisely said: "The race is not always won by those who run the fastest, but by those who can endure to the end."

It is one of the ironies of our time that those same forces who have done so much to shake up our society, who correctly placed the question of power on the agenda, now wander afield. They proceed on another journey at a time when what they urged yesterday is coming on the agenda. All over this country black people are expressing their independence of the old-line political parties and are preparing actions which can propel Negroes much deeper into the political section of the power structure.

Today, a Hatcher, a Stokes, a Willis make the race for mayor in three large cities. They are the harbingers of future black mayors in a large number of American cities. The Freedom Democratic Party, a creature of the young radicals, stands on the threshold of great electoral victories. We are about to reap the harvest from the voter registration drive which represented so many years of effort. And now some are losing faith in this path of development and call for the more dramatic action--the resort to arms.

Now, the election of Negroes to mayoralties and other high offices will not automatically lead to an improvement of the conditions of the masses. At present a struggle is being waged to determine who will control these officials. The ruling circles are reading the handwriting on the wall and are taking steps to guarantee

Within that framework, however, there are some universal truths that have stood the test of time.

Among these is the fact that the struggle for socialism develops in the framework of democratic struggles within the capitalist system. In all instances where the socialist struggle was successful, it was preceded by a stage of struggle for radical shifts or changes within the old society. The classical form this has taken is the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

Today in the United States, the Negroes' struggle for equality is essentially a democratic struggle. And in this struggle, it is possible to change his status substantially, short of socialism. Indeed, the balance sheet of struggle for the last fifteen years has in some areas already passed beyond tokenism.

The desegregation of public places, both in the North and the South, represents a substantial change. With regard to the role of Negroes in sports, too, the change has been substantial. Negro employment in government services has taken a qualitative leap forward and is more than token.

It is true that in an over-all sense the Negroes' gain in the last period has been minimal. But substantial changes have nevertheless been made. And given increased struggle by all segments of the American people, substantial progress in the economic and political fields can also be made that will go beyond tokenism.

Some argue that placing the question in this way can only feed illusions in the capitalist system. Now, it is true that the winning of reforms under capitalism can temporarily create such illusions. But it is also true that the ongoing struggle for reforms can increasingly expose the limitations of the system and lead to greater consciousness of the need to change it.

However much one may understand the background which drives our youth to guns, sober judgment calls for presentation of an approach which can win results. This means bringing the struggle down to its common denominator.

The main problems of the people in the ghettos revolve around income and power. The Negro is the victim of a hierarchy of superexploitation which involves wages, prices, rents, interest rates and other means of extracting profits. His problem on the economic front calls for the kind of actions which can consistently narrow down the area of superexploitation. It means building up many different forms of organization on the economic front.

In the political arena, the main problem is not how to get a response from the power structure as it presently exists. The problem is how basically to change this structure. This is more difficult. It is less dramatic than a gun battle in the street; it requires much more painstaking work. But it has been wisely said: "The race is not always won by those who run the fastest, but by those who can endure to the end."

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full control, regardless of who gets elected. This is the meaning of the support given Stokes in Cleveland by some of the business community, as well as the support from the top command of the Democratic Party. This is also in the background of the support being given Hatcher in Gary by top circles of the party, notwithstanding the fact that local Democrats are giving support to the Republican candidate. Dedicated freedom fighters must not refrain from these struggles because of these ruling class maneuvers, however. On the contrary, the situation dictates the need for maximum effort to get representatives who will be responsive to the people, not to the white power structure.

Therefore, the effort at the ballot box to alter the present relationship of forces in the government apparatus is the main direction the struggle must take. In pursuance of the goal of reducing the area of superexploitation and of enhancing political power, a multiplicity of forms and techniques of struggle will be needed.

Some of these struggles will be non-violent; others may occasion the defensive use of violence. But in any case, the main weapons that black folks can use include, first, their labor power, their ability to halt production and reduce the profits of the big corporations. Second, they include their consumer power, their ability to disturb the profits of those firms which practice discrimination. And finally, they include their political power which, if wisely used, can compel some meaningful changes even in the framework of the capitalist system. Socialism is the final solution, but the struggle for limited goals today will pave the way to a full solution tomorrow.

To build a coalition of black and white requires full utilization of all forms of power that the people possess. It also requires avoiding escapist illusions, of which the enemy can and will make good use. Our nation can surmount its crises only if all the people find appropriate forms of struggle and act in concert.

Illumination of our task requires a review of our work in the last ten years. Of course, such a review must of necessity be limited, especially when we have before us so many pressing current problems.

There are some among us who say that we have had a wrong line for the last ten years. I wish to challenge this appraisal as not being in accord with the facts. That there were certain inadequacies in our line is very evident; there are many things that we did not foresee. But any appraisal must be made against a backdrop of what is and is not readily observable. Otherwise, the Party line becomes a line that is all-seeing. Such an idea is non-Marxist. I would only say that when we are dealing with such questions we should say that in the present circumstances the following is the case: tomorrow, in a different set of circumstances, something else may be the case. But as of now we operate on the basis of what we can see.

Those who speak of a wrong line say in essence that we should have retained the slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt. My answer to that is categorically "no." We were 100 per cent correct in dropping the slogan of self-determination. Having done so, we proceeded to state further that the Negro question is still a national question. The resolution of the 17th National Convention says:

To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution.

But though we retained the concept of the national character of the question, we failed to probe deeper and to outline in depth the nature of the national question as it is manifested today and as it may possibly be manifested tomorrow.

Some of us were involved in formulating the above paragraph and inserting it into the text of the resolution. But we didn't define the distinguishing characteristics, although we knew it wasn't the same as the national question in relation to any other minority group, also that it wasn't the same as it was when we talked about a nation in the Black Belt.

There seems to be an attitude that the Negroes are polarized by the existence of extreme poverty at one end and the rise of a middle class at the other. But there is also a category of workers in between who are mainly in unions and have evolved a certain degree of trade union and class consciousness.

Thus, it is clear that changes in the occupational status, especially in the area of the underemployed, do not automatically lead to trade union or working-class consciousness. This, too, is part of the raw material out of which an explosive growth of nationalism has already evolved.

There was nothing in our line that would have prohibited us from understanding in greater depth the possibilities of a new and broader wave of black nationalism. The problem, I repeat, is that general line and policy must be constantly checked to see what is new, what is aborning, and on this basis to make the necessary adjustments to correspond to the new realities.

In addition to our failure to understand and anticipate the present wave of nationalism, we have historically underestimated the role of color, of race, of oppression as driving forces for Negro nationalism. We have tried to explain this trend from the definition Stalin gave of a nation as an historically evolved community having in common language, geography, economic life and psychological make-up. This definition is generally sound, but in dealing with the American Negro, we are dealing with

One source of weakness in our Party is that when we adopt a so-called general line, it answers everything. Lines must be constantly fed and implemented. Notwithstanding the formulation in the resolution characterizing the problem as national in character, we underestimated the possibilities of a continued growth in this direction. We underestimated the effects of the accumulated years of material developments toward nationhood in the South, as well as the significance of some of the concepts that we had put forward. We interpreted too mechanically the undermining of the nation in the Black Belt by migration into the cities and into the North. We expected changes more in the direction of the class character of the struggle and less in the direction of the national character.

But things did not go that way. When we say that the majority of the Negroes are now in the industrial proletariat, that the main center of the problem now lies not in the peasantry but in the proletariat, we must remember that ideological changes usually lag behind material changes. But we overlooked the fact that certain national attributes that the Negro was evolving in his Black Belt experience could spill over when he came North.

We were also slow in understanding that the motive factor promoting nationalism in the black community with these migrations was the same as that which operated after World War I, when the rise of Garveyism took place. Then, too, the Negro fled from the South to the North and instead of finding the "promised land," he found Jim Crow, segregation, and conditions in the North as miserable as in the South. His disillusionment laid the foundation for Garvey to preach "Go back to Africa." As he saw things, in the words of the poet Ted Ward, "America is one big white fog so thick and impenetrable that a black man can never get through it."

What took place after World War I has been repeated under new conditions in the forties, fifties and sixties. The wave of migration of Negroes from the South to the North has become a continuous process, especially with the growing displacement of Negroes in agriculture.

It is interesting to see what happens to the migrants. On the South Side of Chicago there have been no eruptions of a major character. It is on the West Side that these have taken place. There the population consists mainly of Negroes recently from the South who are mainly employed not in steel, auto, farm equipment or other mass production industries, but at the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the service industries. They are mainly unorganized and have had no union experience. They have had little or no association with whites except to see them on the job, and then go back to the ghetto. They constitute most of the people on the relief rolls, most of the ADC cases, etc. On the other hand, a large segment of the South Side inhabitants are older residents who have been in the city 30 or 40 years, who have seniority in some industries, and who have accumulated some savings and live relatively well.

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The central question on which we must focus is how to establish a lasting and durable coalition of black and white on various levels, but particularly in the working class.

In the 1930s we pioneered the path that led to a new birth of Negro and white unity at the grass-roots level. This unity was the main force which compelled a number of concessions to the broad masses. And it was undoubtedly the main force which at that time prevented America from goose-stepping alongside of Hitler and the Axis powers.

Sinclair Drake and Horace Cayton document this contribution in their celebrated work Black Metropolis. They write:

During the early thirties marchers in left wing demonstrations... carried placards... black and white unite... Close interracial cooperation became associated in the popular mind with the Reds... Negroes and whites... have always cooperated... but usually in white employer-Negro employee relations or as Negro leader-white patron. These Communist slogans signified something that was new... a small band of white men proclaiming as a goal complete unity of Negro and white workers in a joint struggle to build a new society. Not even the abolitionists had stood for that.

These actions became the property of vast masses with the birth of the CIO and other developments. The Communist Party made many contributions during this period, but the most important of them was to galvanize unity between black and white workers against the white bosses.

The independent role of our Party during these last years also requires some analysis. We came through the Smith Act trials and the McCarran Act persecutions with some battle scars which require removal.

We lost the art of taking timely initiatives. We blurred over the possibility for our Party to continue to play a pioneering role, an independent role. Elements of tailism set in as we sat on the sidelines and waited for others to act. During this period we also failed to find ways and means of developing constructive critical approaches in both the house of labor and the civil rights movement.

In regard to the latter, it was late in the day before we saw the necessity for a really critical approach to the leadership of the NAACP. It was only after the Association's 1965 convention in Denver that we began to become sharply critical of this leadership. We opposed A. Philip Randolph only on the issue of red-baiting; but his actions to keep the NALC a small apparatus that he could control went on without a murmur from us. His tendencies to give in to George Meany without some solid commitments was also a weakness that we failed to take note of.

Even in the case of Dr. Martin Luther King, who embraces a philosophy which differs from Marxism, our policy failed to combine endorsement of his tactical line with criticism of his non-violent concepts. Thus, we left the field to Malcolm X who now, in martyrdom, has become a man of great stature.

Even now there are those in our ranks who seek to imitate the young radicals without any thought of their inadequacies, or of anything that we as Communists can add.

In the coming period our Party must find ways and means of identifying itself with all advanced progressive forces, but at the same time we must, as a matter of principle, express our differences whenever we have them. Our criticism must be friendly and precise, and we must avoid name-calling and pinning labels on people. Nor should our criticism be put forward as if it were the last word on the matter--as if we had just walked out of a conference with God and emerged with the final answer.

All this points up the necessity for us to understand clearly what the main needs of the people's movements are, and to determine in what way our Party can be useful, what it can add to the work that others are not geared or ideologically equipped to contribute. It is in this way that we shall perform our vanguard role in the conditions of today's struggles.

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The Negro masses are restless. In order to maintain a line of coalition with their white brothers, they have had to concede most often; they have had to remain silent about discrimination in the interest of trade union unity. For forty years or more the ruling class has not been able to play black and white against each other in strike struggles. But this reservoir of good will for the trade unions is drying up and unless some radical changes take place, the bosses may succeed in doing what they did during and after World War I, when they brought Negroes in from the plantations to break strikes. The large number of Negroes who are unemployed and underemployed, as well as the thousands of displaced agricultural workers in the South, provide fertile ground for such developments today. We are not arguing for this line of approach, but we must face realities even though they are sometimes distasteful.

Thus, one of the chief ideological weapons for bringing white skilled workers to understand where their real interests lie, is to make them aware of the danger that the bosses may use differences between black and white workers to destroy unions altogether. White Americans in general and white workers in particular must also come to understand that the growing attack against the Negro in the ghettos should be a warning signal to them, too. The bell also tolls for them. If the government and ultra-Right forces succeed in creating a race war in the country the aftermath could well be a police state in which no one would have any rights, and the AFL-CIO could be replaced by a fascist labor front.

We should discuss at this conference what we can do to reverse the present trends in the building trades unions. We should also discuss the question of how to develop a drive to organize the unorganized workers in the service industries, both in the South and in the North. It is my firm opinion that we can reverse some of the current trends toward disunity if such drives are organized among the poorest strata of the workers, both black and white.

Today, almost forty years later, we must once again pioneer new fields. The struggle for Negro and white unity must go forward today in new forms. Yesterday's approach is too mild to meet the problems of this stormy period. The question is no longer one of just talking about black and white unity; the problem now is how to forge such unity on the basis of complete equality for black people. The problem now is to help guarantee equality of a black minority in a white-majority society. This is the general goal to be fought for.

But to reach that goal a fundamental prerequisite is the demonstration in action by white Americans of good faith toward their black brothers when they converge together in a common struggle. This means that in interracial organizations in general and in the trade union movement in particular, Communists must not and cannot remain at peace with forces who fail to grasp this fundamental truth. This means that our Party must gear itself to be an effective force in leveling all barriers to an equal say by black people on all matters pertaining to the general welfare. And on those problems facing the people of the ghetto, black people and they alone must decide what is to happen. Advice and counsel, yes. But the decisions must be theirs.

This objective is very easy to put on paper, but is extremely difficult to realize in everyday life. There are no easy answers. All our clubs, district boards, commissions and other Party bodies including the national committee must keep this problem before them as a permanent feature on every agenda. If we concentrate our attention on this we will come up with answers as to how to do the job. We will make mistakes along the way, but they will be the kind of mistakes which arise out of an aggressive drive to find solutions. In a general way we know what must be done; we know that the approach cannot rest on moral persuasion, but must be based mainly on self-interest. We also know that some people cannot understand self-interest until they are confronted with a crisis. If this is what has to be, then we should have no hesitation in creating a crisis.

Let us take the building trades unions and some other craft unions. They are the main barriers to the upgrading of Negro workers. Here it is not just a problem of bad union leadership. Many of the rank and file also believe that Negroes in apprenticeship training and as journeymen will constitute a threat to their jobs. In some circumstances, they must be shown that when they fail to fight for their black brothers, this is the most dangerous threat to their jobs and wage standards.

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When we built unity between black and white workers in the 1930s, we didn't start with the highly-paid skilled workers in the craft unions. In most cases we had to fight them with other unions, including some all-Negro unions. Our starting point was the unemployed, later the independent unions and still later the birth of the CIO. Perhaps some of the experience of that period could be useful in helping to chart a course today.

In regard to the freedom movement, the chief task and vanguard role of the Party, as expressed primarily by black Communists, must be to introduce a class content into the present wave of black nationalism. We must fight against all separatist tendencies as self-defeating. We must do so while respecting the fears black people have of being assimilated by whites. We must fight for full power in the ghettos while struggling against tendencies to go overboard in some situations.

Lately, some discussion has developed about what strata of the Negro people we base ourselves on. Inasmuch as ours is a working-class Party, our main orientation must be to work among black workers. However, concentration on the working class does not negate working closely with other strata of the Negro people. Our object should be to show these other strata why it is so vital for the whole movement to have black workers involved substantially in all struggles.

There are those in our ranks who pull in different directions with regard to the various trends within the movement. What should be our position? First, we still regard the Negro movement as an all-class movement. Hence we are interested at all times in finding common denominators which can throw the weight of the whole movement in a given direction. Occasionally an issue comes along that makes it possible to do just that. But more often the movement is beset with sharp cleavages and is split into "conservatives," "moderates" and "young militants," and must seek to reduce the influence of the conservative element.

We see positive strength in both the moderates and the young black militants. Some among us downgrade the young militants and gravitate more toward the middle or moderate forces. There should be no such gravitational pulls. Each group has its role to play. Of these young people, no matter how much we may disagree with this or that tactic, we can say no less than Robert Weaver, now a part of the establishment and certainly no radical, said at the Urban League convention last year:

Negro youth can be and has been constructive and effective in its protest. . . . The Negro protest might well have never gotten off the ground had it not been for them. . . . Thus, I do not ignore the angry words of the new militants, for their tone, their demands, their challenge. . . . their repudiation of middle class behavior are real and basic.

Both of these currents, expressing themselves around the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, represent the hard core of the protest movement. Unity among these groups on most questions is possible and necessary. Any one of them, taken by itself, does not have the necessary striking power to isolate the conservatives and their influence.

Of course, there are times when the action of one group inspires or prods another into motion. And most of the time the initiative comes from the youth. This is only natural. However, in the long run, combined efforts of all these forces are needed to make a meaningful contribution. And if in the near future the black workers come into sharper focus, the contributions of all will be enlarged.

There are times when we as Communists will have to take issue with one or another action by this or that leader, this or that organization. But when we do, we must not underestimate the positive qualities of both the Left and center forces. Indeed, we need a criterion to distinguish who is Left and who is center. In all of these organizations there are people who see the necessity for a change in the system, and the trend is growing.

The growth of this anti-capitalist sentiment is laying the foundation for a radical shift to the Left by all of these forces. In such circumstances, I foresee the possibility of building our Party once again as an influential force.

This conference should also discuss the question of why so few young militant Negroes are joining our ranks. We should also discuss the kind of house-cleaning we need to do to attract and hold them.

In closing, let me say that notwithstanding the great difficulties, we have a rendezvous with destiny. I am confident that we and the American people will find the common path pointed out by Professor Melman. We will unite the pro-democratic forces of our country. Whites will overcome their prejudices, not because they love the Negro, but basically, I believe, because they love themselves.

Wherever there is a white bandit who attacks Negroes, white Communists will jump at his throat; wherever black people, out of frustration or other reasons, follow a no-win policy, black Communists will help them find their way.

Together, black and white Communists are going to make significant contributions toward radical changes in our society. Eventually we will build a country of freedom for all--a socialist America.

###

(U) Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (Rev. 6-2-67)

TO : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41324)
(U) FROM : SA [redacted]
SUBJECT: CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-CIRM
IS-C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Date prepared
November 20, 1967

Date received: 10/16/67
Received from (name or symbol number): [redacted] (reliable)
Received by: SA [redacted]

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)
 in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Dictated: 10/17/67 to [redacted]
Transcribed: 10/19/67
Authenticated by Informant: 11/2/67

Date of Report: 10/16/67
Date(s) of activity: 10/14 and 15/67

Brief description of activity or material
CONFERENCE ON THE NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR
NEGRO RIGHTS SPONSORED BY NATIONAL CP NEGRO
COMMISSION, 10/14 and 15/67, NEW YORK CITY

File where original is located if not attached
A) [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

Remarks: CARE SHOULD BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION
IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISING THE SOURCE.

(U) On 11/2/67 [redacted] was exhibited a photo of [redacted]
of Detroit and the source advised that [redacted] is identical to the
[redacted] (LNU) whom he described as white, heavy set and in middle 40's,
therefore, a copy of this memo is being channeled to the Detroit
file, 100-19740, for [redacted].

(U) LEADS
CLEVELAND

PERMANENT COPY RETAINED
IN 100-26044-7181

AT CLEVELAND, OHIO. Will attempt to identify [redacted] (LNU) and
[redacted] (LNU) and make available to Chicago photographs of same for exhibiting
to [redacted]. According to the source, these two individuals attended the
Conference in New York City on 10/14-15/67.

(U) (FOR COPIES SEE II PAGES)
CLASSIFIED AND EXTENDED BY SP6 [redacted]
EHW/mh: bab (123)
DATE OF REVIEW FOR DECLASSIFICATION 11/5/86
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Block Stamp
100-66078-1308
SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]
NOV 24 1967
FBI - LOS ANGELES

CG 100-41324

(U)

3 - BALTIMORE (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100-10584 [REDACTED]
1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)

2 - BOSTON (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)

4 - CLEVELAND (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100- [REDACTED] (LNU)
1 - 100- [REDACTED] (LNU)
1 - 100- (CP, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)

7 - DETROIT (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100- (TOMMY DENNIS)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100-19740 [REDACTED]
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)
1 - 100- (COMINFIL-UAW)
1 - 100- (COMINFIL-TEACHERS UNION)

⑦ - LOS ANGELES (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100- (DOROTHY HEALEY)
1 - 100- (ROSCOE PROCTOR)
1 - 100- (KENDRA ALEXANDER)
1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- (JOHN PITTMAN)
① - 100- (CP, CIRM)
1 - 100- (CP, ORGANIZATION)

2 - MILWAUKEE (INFO) (RM)

1 - 100- [REDACTED]
1 - 100- (CP, CIRM)

b6
b7c

CG 100-41324

(U)

49 - NEW YORK (RM)

- 1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)
- 1 - 100-98699 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
- 1 - 100-105078 (HY LUMER)
- 1 - 100- (HELEN WINTER)
- 1 - 100-27539 (CARL WINTER)
- 1 - 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON)
- 1 - 100- (WILL WEINSTONE)
- 1 - 100-13472 (GIL GREEN)
- 1 - 100-16785 (JIM JACKSON)
- 1 - 100- (BETTY GANNETT)
- 1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
- 1 - 100-128255 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-141914 [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100-13829 (TED BASSETT)
- 1 - 100- (JOE BRANDT)
- 1 - 100- (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - 100- [REDACTED]
- 1 - (RAP BROWN)
- 1 - (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
- 1 - 100-23825 (BEN DAVIS)
- 1 - (WILLIAM PATTERSON)
- 1 - (CP, USA, CIRM)
- 1 - (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
- 1 - 100-97162 ("POLITICAL AFFAIRS")
- 1 - (CP, USA, EDUCATION)
- 1 - (CP, USA BRIEF TO ESTABLISH ILLEGAL STATUS)
- 1 - (NCP)
- 1 - ("THE WORKER")
- 1 - (SACB)
- 1 - (KU KLUX KLAN)

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NEW YORK (Continued)

- (U)
- 1 - (ROSCOE PROCTOR)
 - 1 - (BIRCHITES)
 - 1 - (WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL)
 - 1 - (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
 - 1 - (WEB DU BOIS CLUB)
 - 1 - (CP, USA, MISC. INDUSTRIAL)
 - 1 - (CP, USA, POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
 - 1 - (MALCOLM X)
 - 1 - (CORE)
 - 1 - (SNCC)
 - 1 - (SCLC)
 - 1 - (CP, USA, PAMPHLETS AND PUBLICATIONS)
- 4 - PHILADELPHIA (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)
- 3 - PORTLAND (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)
- 2 - ST. LOUIS (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - (HERSCHEL WALKER)
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)
- 2 - SAN ANTONIO (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)
- 2 - SAN DIEGO (INFO) (RM)
- 1 - (BILL TAYLOR)
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)

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(U)

- 2 - SAN FRANCISCO (INFO) (RM)
 - 1 - (JOHN PITTMAN)
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)

- 2 - SEATTLE (INFO) (RM)
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)

- 2 - WFO (INFO) (RM)
 - 1 - [REDACTED]
 - 1 - (CP, CIRM)

- 30 - CHICAGO
 - 1 - A [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
 - 1 - 100-20289 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-12890 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-41442 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-41889 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-17828 [REDACTED]
 - 1 - 100-3293 (ISH FLORY)
 - 1 - 157-2111 (RAP BROWN)
 - 1 - 157-1297 (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)
 - 1 - 100-35635 (NOI)
 - 1 - 100-40911 (MUHAMMAD ALI)
 - 1 - 100-21295 (PETTIS PERRY)
 - 1 - 100-11329 (CORE)
 - 1 - 100-40342 (SNCC)
 - 1 - 100-8261 (NAACP)
 - 1 - 100-43253 (NCNP)
 - 1 - 157-504 (MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY)
 - 1 - 100-42889 (DCA)
 - 1 - 100-38809 (SACB)
 - 1 - 100-18338 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-EDUCATION)
 - 1 - 100-17965 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-BRIEF TO ESTABLISH ILLEGAL STATUS)

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CG 100-41324

(U) 1 - 100-18953 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-ORGANIZATION)
1 - 100-7441 (COMINFIL-UAW)
1 - 100-17977 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES)
1 - 100-19431 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY)
1 - 100-31398 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-MISC. INDUSTRIAL)
1 - 100-18954 (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT-LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES)
1 - 105-16238 (SCLC)

(U)

Chicago, Illinois
October 16, 1967] X

(U)

On October 14 and 15, 1967, the National Communist Party (CP), USA Negro Commission sponsored a conference captioned "A Conference on the New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Rights." This conference was held in the Imperial Room of the Hotel Victoria Abbey, 51st Street and 7th Avenue, New York City, and was listed on the hotel bulletin board under the name of "Social Workers Seminar." X

Sessions on October 14, 1967] X

(U)

It is estimated that at the beginning of the morning sessions on October 14, 1967, approximately 68 people were in attendance, while later in the day HELEN WINTER was overheard stating that 78 people were registered for the conference. X

(U)

Of those recognized in attendance were the following:

From New York:

GUS HALL
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HY LUMER
HELEN WINTER
CARL WINTER
HENRY WINSTON
WILL WEINSTONE
GIL GREEN
JIM JACKSON
BETTY GANNETT

(U)

IRVING POTASH

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

TED BASSETT

JOE BRANDT

ARNOLD JOHNSON (not present first day)

[redacted] (not present first day)
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

From Chicago:

JACK KLING

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

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From California:

DOROTHY HEALEY

ROSCOE PROCTOR

KENDRA ALEXANDER

BILL TAYLOR

[redacted]

JOHN PITTMAN

From Detroit:

TOMMY DENNIS

[redacted]

[redacted] (Last Name Unknown) - white, heavysset,
middle 40s.

[redacted]

From Ohio:

[redacted] (Last Name Unknown) - from Cleveland, Negro
female, very light-skinned,
5'6", 130 lbs., approximately
50 years of age.

[redacted] (Last Name Unknown) - from Cleveland, white; late
30s, 170 lbs., 5'9".

(U)

From State of Washington:

[REDACTED]

From Oregon:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

From Baltimore, Maryland:

[REDACTED]
GEORGE MEYERS

From Boston:

[REDACTED]

From Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

[REDACTED]

From Washington, D.C.:

[REDACTED]

From St. Louis, Missouri:

[REDACTED]

From Texas:

[REDACTED]

From Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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(U) HENRY WINSTON called the meeting to order and gave a few words of welcome. WINSTON then nominated [redacted] from Chicago as chairman for the morning sessions. GUS HALL seconded this motion and [redacted] was so elected. ✕

(U) [redacted] of the morning sessions, then introduced BILL TAYLOR of California, who discussed the agenda. ✕

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(U) [redacted] then introduced CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, who made the report for the National Board of the CP, USA. ✕

(U) LIGHTFOOT's report was 54 pages long and took two hours to deliver. ✕

(U) In his report LIGHTFOOT said that part of his report was made up from an article which had recently appeared in "Political Affairs," written by ROSCOE PROCTOR. He stated that there is a question facing everyone, namely the fact that we face a war ^{at (B)} in peace. Black nationalism is growing to the extent that it has reached an explosive nature, for in the next 13 to 15 years things will get worse. Black nationalism will grow. There were 160 outbreaks in 120 cities in 1967. There is an increase in the crime rate in the cities and the FBI states there is a 17 per cent increase of crime throughout the nation. Racism has been used in this country to divide, deny, and create prejudices. WALLACE came up into the North to organize ✕

(U) the backlash and spread disunity among the working class. The betrayal of the Negro people by the liberals and the labor movement is still a major issue. The building trade unions still discriminate and they are the greatest scabs. Racism in this country is the greatest builder of black nationalism. The Negro people are trying to deal from a position of strength. The main pitch is not against "whitey," but against the political structure. Unity of black and white can be accomplished but only on an equal base. The position of the CP, USA, is that we draw a line between nationalism and black nationalism. What is progressive? What is reactionary? We reject black nationalism and prefer building a coalition of black and white. RAP BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL are impressed by the guerilla movement in Viet Nam but what they don't recognize is that the movement in Viet Nam is supported by the people and that is not true in America. A guerilla attack in this country would be the same as committing suicide. ~~Q~~

(U) LIGHTFOOT said that those who counsel black people to take up arms are misleaders. There may come a time when arms would be necessary, but the Party will not lead the black people to slaughter. The reforms in this country have helped the few, but not the many. Capitalism must be eliminated for complete Negro freedom. ~~Q~~

(U) LIGHTFOOT then reviewed the CP work in the Negro field covering the past nine years. He said that the Negro ghetto must be destroyed, but the Negro community must remain for Negro power in order to secure political gains. There has been considerable growth of conservatism in the ranks of the CP. The independent role of our Party has been weakened. We have lost the art of taking the initiative in the civil rights struggles and the labor movement. Some of us are imitating MALCOLM X and do not assume the responsibility of communists. Negro-white unity must go forward in a new mold. The Party must be an effective force as communists and we must take the initiative in developing class consciousness in the field of civil rights. By working with the black working class unity between Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) must be achieved. If we don't, there will be no end. Black and white communists must make their presence felt in every community in our country. White chauvinism is still in evidence in our Party and this must be eradicated. ~~X~~

(U) In his closing remarks LIGHTFOOT stated that where we are talking of building the Party, projecting a program, and looking forward to a bumper crop, we have ^(CP) but only planted a few seeds and we hardly till the soil. ~~X~~ ALL. (B.F.)

(U) After LIGHTFOOT completed his report the conference agreed to limit each speaker in their remarks concerning CLAUDE's report to ten minutes; however, giving extended time to given speakers. ✕

(U) At this point HELEN WINTER announced that students from the school which the CP is currently sponsoring are present and should feel free to participate in the discussions. ✕

[Remarks by [] of Detroit] ✕

(U) [] stated that the first man killed in the 1967 summer riots in Detroit was a white man. White families in the suburbs took in homeless Negro families. The climate has changed in the United States for Negroes to work with white people. One of the United Auto Worker (UAW) locals had trucks distribute food and clothing to the needy during the time of the riot. ✕

[Remarks by [] of Cleveland] ✕

(U) [] spoke of the mayoral candidate STOKES' election campaign and pointed out that the Party in Cleveland had influenced the labor movement in Cleveland to endorse STOKES. ✕

(U) Prior to lunch at 1:30 p.m., [] and [] [] as well as a few other people made remarks. ✕

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(U) Before lunch [] announced that those who require housing are asked to see [] ~~X~~

(U) Also before lunch BILL TAYLOR asked to make a proposal that this conference go on record to write a "Manifesto on the Negro Question" with four or five people designated to write the manifesto. Of the five people suggested by TAYLOR only the names PITTMAN and [] were recalled. The proposal was carried and accepted by the conference. ~~X~~

(U) It was noted that during the lunch period most of the people left the Imperial Room to go to lunch; however, it was observed that CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, HENRY WINSTON, HELEN WINTER, [], and [] had lunch at the table located on the podium. During lunch HELEN WINTER was overheard telling [] [] that GUS HALL wants to speak to the conference group in the afternoon but did not want to be the first speaker. ~~X~~

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(U) This lunch group was overheard discussing portions of LIGHTFOOT's speech and the general feeling was that it was a good speech. ~~X~~

[Afternoon Sessions,
2:30 p.m.,
October 14, 1967] ~~X~~

(U) At this point [], a school teacher from New York, was elected chairman for the afternoon sessions. ~~X~~

(U) Prior to GUS HALL speaking, remarks concerning LIGHTFOOT's speech were made by four speakers. ~~Q~~

(U) GUS HALL spoke about 20 minutes and based his speech on CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's report. HALL said that the Negro problems stem from Tokenism. What are the currents in the trends? We must know what direction to take and what forms these directions must take. We must also determine our alliances and class forces, then we must help to define these forces. Our greatest task is to win large masses of Northern whites to fight in the struggle for Negro freedom. We don't have many white experts in this field and very little literature in this phase of our work. The white working class communities must become a part of the struggle for Negro freedom. We must convince the peace forces that they can win if they help win the Negro freedom and to fight for Negro freedom will not lead to isolation as some seem to think. ~~Q~~

Remarks by [redacted]
of Chicago

[redacted] stated that he felt the report by LIGHTFOOT for the National Board was an accurate estimate of the Negro question today, but he would like to speak from the only community in the country which has had three rumbles in one year. He said that Maywood, Illinois, is a community of 30,000 people of whom approximately one-third are Negro. Time will not permit to give every detail, but he said he would like to give the highlights of the rebellion which took place in Maywood this year. [redacted] dealt with the grade school boycotts which demanded quality education, the violence which took place in June, demanding more recreational facilities for the youth, which violence resulted in the youth smashing windows in the village. He told of the Cook County Sheriff calling out his troops at a City Council meeting and the rejection of the youth to the appointment of a person who the youth felt was not reliable to serve as chairman of a committee to assist the youth in their demands, and of the youth wanting the right to so serve on the commission instead. [redacted] also spoke of the violence in the local high school, the blockade of the black community in Maywood, and of the violence which flared for three nights in Maywood. He spoke of police brutality and the absence of black law enforcement on the scene. He said that 166 blacks were arrested with

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(U) only a few whites arrested and that high bond was required to free the Negroes. He reported that during the height of negotiations between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and school administration a white minister and he led a march demanding justice and equality, and that thereafter an agreement was reached. In connection with the high school situation he also spoke of the call by the Human Relations Council demanding a full and formal investigation of conditions existing in Maywood. He also stated that where Maywood is not a deprived black ghetto as such the events, however, demonstrate that the young people in the black community will no longer tolerate tokenism but are willing to die in the streets for freedom if necessary. ~~✗~~

Remarks by [redacted] of Detroit ~~✗~~

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(U) [redacted] stated that in Detroit a lot of young Negroes are talking about revolution and we must show them how to change things and who the real enemy really is. ~~✗~~

Remarks by BILL TAYLOR of California ~~✗~~

(U) TAYLOR suggested that everyone here at the conference send telegrams to President JOHNSON and the Attorney General protesting the methods of how the trials for the slayers of the three civil rights workers in Mississippi are being conducted. He said that this is nothing but a white wash and a mockery. ~~✗~~

[Remarks by TOMMY DENNIS
of Detroit]

(U) DENNIS said there is a move among the Detroit teachers, which developed during their teachers strike, toward class consciousness, and these teachers are talking about a revolution. These teachers are white as well as black. We must recognize that anybody who is talking about revolution does not mean it and a lot of them do not know what they are talking about. There has been a black caucus formed in the Detroit teachers union and they are taking up other questions concerning black people.

(U) DENNIS said that the working class in the Detroit suburbs must learn to stand up to fight in what they believe. We need no conservatism in our Party and the Negroes will not isolate themselves from the whites if the whites fight for Negro rights.

[Remarks by
of Chicago]

(U) In her remarks immediately attacked LIGHTFOOT's report, stating that LIGHTFOOT spoke for two hours and never once mentioned Negro women. They are the most oppressed people in the whole nation and not only should special efforts be made to recruit black women but to orientate them and give them an opportunity to build the Party. There are ten students attending our school (CP leadership school in New York) - four males and six women, with only one black woman.

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Remarks by [redacted]
of California

(U)

[redacted] said that she just attended a meeting of the National CP Board in New York. She said there they gave credit to the communists for the success and achievements at the recent National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) convention held in Chicago. She called for the establishment of a Marxist school and to get Negroes to go full time to work for the Party in the black communities. The Party should establish regional seminars and open up some CP meetings to the public where the CP has already tried this in Los Angeles.

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Remarks by JIM JACKSON
of New York

(U)

JACKSON said that you don't build a two-story house by tearing down the first floor. We must remember that Marxism-Leninism is a science and we must use it to win the victories. The Negro question is not only a national question but a many-sided question.

Remarks by HY LUMER
of New York

(U)

LUMER stated that no one is saying that the working class is being exploited in this country. We are only talking of Negroes being exploited. The workers in the South make less than half in wages compared to what the workers make in the North. The run-away shops from the North can attest to this. All workers are being exploited by monopoly capitalism. I agree with LIGHTFOOT about nationalism and reactionary nationalism.

(U)

We as communists are internationalists and should fight against racism in this country. ✕

Remarks by [redacted] ✕
of Washington, D.C.

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(U)

The black people believe that the main question facing them at this point is a question of survival. Some people are coming to socialism by themselves and I wonder how many would come if we would help them. The black people are finding black nationalism, Maoism, and everything else active in the black communities, and the Party should see that they also find communism. ✕

Remarks by CARL WINTER ✕
of New York

(U)

WINTER said that he just came from "The Worker" office and we have a report that on Monday AM (October 16, 1967), Senator DIRKSEN of Illinois will introduce a bill that would revive the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB). The number of this bill is Senate Bill Number 2171, and he urged that each comrade present should wire their senator to vote "no" on this bill and demand public hearings concerning the proposal by Senator DIRKSEN. ✕

[Supper Hour] ✕

(U)

After supper the following panels were held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 55th and 7th Avenues, New York City:] ✕

(U)

- 1) Struggle on Economic Problems -
[redacted] (Last Name Unknown)
- 2) Struggle on the Political Front -
[redacted]
- 3) Work in the White Community -
GIL GREEN
- 4) Techniques and Methods of Struggle -
ROSCOE PROCTOR
- 5) The Negro and Culture -
[redacted]
- 6) Afro-American Women -
[redacted]

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(U)

The panel entitled "Techniques and Methods of Struggle," led by ROSCOE PROCTOR, had [redacted] serving as secretary. Four points were discussed at this panel, namely:

- A) What is our attitude toward organizing around uprisings in the ghetto?
- B) How do we view the struggle for peaceful gains and revolutionary reforms?
- C) How do we go about changing the direction toward socialism?
- D) What are the variety of forms which must be used interchangeably?

(U)

ROSCOE PROCTOR stated that it is said that liberation comes from the barrel of a gun. There are 500 black people in Northern California talking along these lines. They are talking about armed guerilla warfare and terrorist action against Uncle Toms in the ghetto, but all these ideas must be rejected. However, in the area of self-defense we can support this idea because it is so defined in the words of the Constitution in regard to self-defense.

(U) What is the real purpose of violence? It stems from the fact that violence is the only thing which the power structure will recognize and it then causes them to sit down and discuss the issues. ~~X~~

[Remarks by] ~~X~~

(U) questioned those who would resort to arms because it would bring about the slaughter of thousands of black people, and if the issue is raised of using legal process to win gains, the NAACP has already been doing this since 1909. Apparently this process is too slow and ineffective. What are the possibilities of the black community winning gains through the electoral machinery? ~~X~~

[Remarks by TOMMY DENNIS] ~~X~~

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(U) DENNIS stated that every furniture store in Detroit in one area during the riots this summer was burned including TV shops. This is where the people were highly exploited by the shop owners and this is one way to even the score. All the snipers caught in Detroit were white, who went into white buildings in the Negro community shooting at the cops and firemen. They were not Negroes. ~~X~~

[Remarks by] ~~X~~

(U) said we must blame the violence in our cities on the ruling class since they perpetuate a condition which brings on violence. We continue to criticize black militants for ~~X~~

(U) over emphasizing violence, but we are not providing a program for them in other directions. We should oppose all gun laws. We want to disarm the enemy of the people, not the people. ~~ⓧ~~

Remarks by KENDRA ALEXANDER ~~ⓧ~~

(U) ALEXANDER said we should support the idea for black people to arm and defend themselves because the white power structure is not protecting the black people. ~~ⓧ~~

(U) At this point ROSCOE PROCTOR raised the question of public ownership of utilities in order to provide money for education. ~~ⓧ~~

(U) In the discussion the question was raised about black co-ops in black communities, and of public ownership, also means of production as a means of eliminating the profits and as a means of bringing about socialism. ~~ⓧ~~

(U) In this panel those recognized were:

ROSCOE PROCTOR

[REDACTED]

KENDRA ALEXANDER

[REDACTED]

TOMMY DENNIS

[REDACTED]

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(U)

Sessions on Sunday,
October 15, 1967

(U)

The conference group on this date returned to the Victoria Abbey Hotel to continue their conference.

These sessions commenced at 9:30 a.m., and

of New York was elected chairman for the morning sessions.

(U)

HENRY WINSTON opened the sessions stating that on this date two years ago BOB THOMPSON had died. He pointed out that THOMPSON was a real soldier of the working class; that he had fought in Spain for the Spanish Republic, was wounded, and after recovering from his wounds again returned to Spain to fight; and that upon completion of this mission returned to the United States to continue his struggles for socialism.

Remarks by

(U)

said that the Black Muslims are a nationalist movement and are a negative movement, yet we support the position of MUHAMMAD ALI on the draft. One of our weaknesses is the lack of a working class outlook in the ghetto. There should be ideological struggle taking place now. The Party should be conducting an ideological thrust at this time in the ghetto. What are our differences with RAP BROWN? Everyone is talking about revolution, but what are they really talking about?

(U) We should develop an active core to organize the unorganized service workers and bring them into the mainstream of the labor movement. ~~X~~

[Remarks by JOHN PITTMAN
from California.] ~~X~~

(U) PITTMAN said that today we stand on the brink of greater movements toward socialism all over the world. ~~X~~

[Remarks by KENDRA ALEXANDER] ~~X~~

(U) ALEXANDER stated that many black people claim that they are part of the Third World which is comprised of Asia, Africa, and South America. This is freely discussed among black nationalists in Los Angeles. Black communists are asked to do all kinds of work in the community which whites are not asked to do. The black people are leaving the Party because a lot of black people see no need of white association. ~~X~~

[Remarks by] ~~X~~

(U) stated that the lack of confidence in the black community by white people in the struggle on the part of the black people, since the main struggle is to curb the power of monopoly in this country, is that whites should support this concept if only for self interest. ~~X~~

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Remarks by [redacted]

(U)

[redacted] stated that the capitalist press and news media gives much space and attention to what R.P. BROWN and STOKELY CARMICHAEL say but very little to what has been said by the Ku Klux Klan, Birchites, and White Citizens Councils. The Birchites are concentrating on the white working class communities concerning the tax question. They are preaching that taxes are bad and we should also utilize our resources to work up issues which we think are good and would help unite the black and white communities.

(U)

At this point HENRY WINSTON spoke briefly concerning the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union.

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[Lunch Period]

(U)

After lunch the PM sessions were called to order and TOMMY DENNIS of Detroit was elected chairman for the afternoon sessions.

(U)

At this time [redacted] then read a statement prepared by [redacted] who had laryngitis, which statement dealt with the Negro problem in Philadelphia.

(U)

Reports Based on Panels Held
Saturday Evening, October 14, 1967

Report from Panel Number 6
"Afro-American Women" by
[redacted]

(U) In her report [] dealt mainly with the need for participation by black women in the Party not to only do the dirty work but to help formulate the program and line of the Party. She said there is a tendency in the Party to downgrade black women and not give them the same courtesy and equality given white women. Black women should be given credit for their roles given in struggles taking place all around the country. She suggested that the Party should work toward establishing child care centers and make other arrangements in order to give the black women more freedom, thus allowing them to participate in the struggles in the ghettos. ~~ⓧ~~

[Report from Panel Number 5
"The Negro and Culture" by
[]] ~~ⓧ~~

(U) [] stated that only one other person besides himself gathered for this panel, whereupon both of them decided to join with the panel on "Afro-American Women." [] stated that at Panel Number 6 he gave his report based upon the advances made by Negro artists, entertainers, TV and radio show figures, etc, within the United States. ~~ⓧ~~

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(U) [Report on Panel Number 3
"Work in the White Community"
by []] ~~ⓧ~~

[] stated that the Party should publish a pamphlet on Racism, taxes and housing, which should be distributed in the white communities. We should work to make ~~ⓧ~~

(U) the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party a challenge at the Democratic Party convention in 1968. We should take the lead in organizing the unorganized and by so doing help develop black and white unity, which will also help expose white chauvinism. The Party should organize a financial campaign to support the RAP BROWN case and expose the real reasons why a system like this creates a RAP BROWN. ✕

Report on Panel Number 4
"Techniques and Methods of Struggle"
by ROSCOE PROCTOR ✕

(U) PROCTOR stated that the Party must be on the scene and have a program for the struggle which takes place in the black community. We must advocate ownership in the black community. Our Party must take leadership in organizing black congresses in the Negro areas to unite black organizations around programs of action to win the rights for black people, such as boycotts, electoral activity, education, and housing. We also must expand on issues for national holidays, for black heroes such as W.E.B. DU BOIS, BEN DAVIS, and PETTIS PERRY. ✕

(U) The conference moved and seconded that the Party write a Manifesto on the Negro Question to oppose the survival of the SACB and that the conference also direct a telegram to the widow of BOB THOMPSON on the second anniversary of his death. ✕

[Sidelights and Observations] c

(U) Although WILLIAM PATTERSON was not observed at this conference it was, however, learned that reportedly he is ill. X

(U) It was further learned during the course of the conference that GEORGE MEYERS commented that the National CP Trade Union Commission meeting originally scheduled for some time in November, 1967, has been postponed until some time in early 1968. X

(U) GEORGE MEYERS was further overheard asking if [] of Chicago could be ready within the next few days to travel to the Soviet Union as a delegate for the CP Trade Union group from the United States, where he would remain in the Soviet Union for three weeks. [] was overheard telling MEYERS that it would be impossible for him at this time to take three weeks off from his employment, and secondly because of the short notice given to him. X

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(U) It was noted that during the course of the conference there was nothing stated concerning the possibility of the CP again publishing a daily Party paper. X

(U) It is also noted that during the course of the conference there was no direct reference made to the NCNP convention recently held in Chicago, possibly for the reason X

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(U)

that for the CP to carry out their commitments made at the NCNP convention, particularly of building grass-roots organizations in the working class communities and of conducting independent political action, would mean for the Party at this time to go to work, and it appears basically that no one in the Party at this time particularly cares to go to work. ~~X~~

(U)

During the course of various discussions and remarks also made at the conference it was learned that there are ten people attending the current CP leadership school being held in New York, and that there are yet five weeks remaining before the school terminates. It was further learned that [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] are four of the ten people currently attending this school. ~~X~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

November 22, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-11-2011

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

100-66078-1309

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken in consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

On October 26, 1967, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) furnished a confidential police bulletin reporting a new commercial product named "Burnol," which is a canned gelled fuel identical to Napalm. The product is used to assist fire personnel in controlling fires. This information is set out in the event the product falls into the hands of unauthorized persons. A copy of the bulletin concerning this product is attached.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, of October 19, 1967, page A1, was an article reporting a cutback in the Teen Post program in the Los Angeles area, to prevent the complete cancellation of other anti-poverty programs. The Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA) approved a budget of only \$500,000 for the Teen Posts instead of the present budget of almost 1.6 million dollars. The EYOA also announced the discontinuance of several fringe programs.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 26, 1967, page B5, was an article reporting that Dr. Wade Jackson, chairman of the board at St. Stephen's United Community Association, charged the EYOA with discrimination. Mr. JOE MALDONADO, local head of the EYOA, had charged the group in September with a discrepancy in funds, fired the project director, and refused to fund the Headstart program of the association. Jackson indicated he would ask for a federal investigation of the charges.

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Dispatch," Los Angeles Negro newspaper, of November 2, 1967, page 1, was an article reporting approximately 300 workers for the Neighborhood Adult Participation Project (NAPP), funded by the EYOA, faced dismissal on November 13, 1967. Many of the workers, according to the article, would have to return to welfare since they are not trained for other employment. The article was critical of the EYOA for hiring people for a period of two to three years, then letting them go without helping them find other employment.

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 2, 1967, page A7, was a column written by Stanley G. Robertson, reporting that Harry E. Dolan, a member of the Watts Writers Workshop (WWW), run by screenwriter Budd Schulberg, had been hired by Warner Brothers to do the screenplay for a hit musical entitled "No Strings." The column criticized the black nationalist attitude and those who preach separation of the races, and pointed out that Dolan would probably not be a writer today but for his contact with and training by Schulberg.

[REDACTED]

Source one advised on October 24, 1960, that Schulberg appeared to be "very far left of center, but appeared to be 'bitterly anti-Communist.'" #

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 3, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that an office for the Watts Renewal Project had been opened at 1516 East 103 Street, Los Angeles. The office will house the Community Redevelopment Agency staff, the Office of Community Development, the Watts Citizens Advisory Committee, and Social Service Agencies. The office is to serve primarily as headquarters for the planned redevelopment of the Watts area.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 9, 1967, page 1, was an article reporting that former school teachers Donald Daniels, age 32, and Lee Wheeler, age 38, who had pleaded guilty in September to one count each of statutory rape involving a 17 year old Negro female student, were sentenced on November 7, 1967, to three years probation. Both teachers, who are Caucasian, resigned shortly after their arrest in February 1967.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 9, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had proposed a series of steps to integrate Los Angeles City schools, which would not require large amounts of money. They proposed the following steps:

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Instead of building conventional neighborhood schools, the district could build "educational parks" and complexes to draw students from various racial groups.

Use of the "Princeton Plan" of pairing two or more nearby schools to serve a larger area.

Use of "magnet schools" with superior educational programs to draw students from various areas.

The simple procedure of revising school boundaries.

The ACLU also suggested that if it was made clear there was a district-wide program to end discrimination, flight to "lily-white" schools and neighborhoods would be less tempting.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 15, 1967, II-8, was an article reporting that Marquette Frye, one of two brothers whose arrests were credited with starting the Watts riot in August 1965, had been booked on suspicion of burglary in Altadena, California, by Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office (LASO) deputies. The officers, responding to a call by a market employee at 4:24 AM, arrested a man in the parking lot of the store after finding a window of the store broken. They arrested Frye and another individual in a pick-up truck two blocks away.

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III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

On November 16, 1967, source two, a high official of the LAPD, advised the general racial situation in the Los Angeles area was cooled, however the LAPD is concerned by what appeared to be organized efforts by black nationalist groups to influence policies in Los Angeles high schools. Source advised the LAPD is closely following this situation, together with the Los Angeles City School System in an effort to forestall any further trouble similar to that which occurred at Manual Arts High School (see Section 7).

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of October 19, 1967, page A1, was an article reporting that Reverend Martin Luther King had recently advised the "Sentinel" he planned to "establish a beachhead" for his "operation breadbasket" in California, within the next six weeks, "to break the white establishment's stranglehold." King indicated his first activity would be in Los Angeles and the San Francisco area. King referred to similar operations in Chicago and Cleveland, which he described as "militant non-violent resistance" in answer to the Black Power advocates. The primary objectives of King's activity are to secure more jobs for Negroes, upgrade Negro jobs, persuade markets to stock goods manufactured by Negro firms and ask white businesses to advertise more in Negro publications. The article reported King's operation in Chicago resulted in 25 thousand jobs and an increase in Negro income of an estimated 16 million dollars a year plus the expanding of the Negro economy generally.

On October 12, 1967, source three, a prominent Negro in the South Los Angeles area, who is well-acquainted with the racial situation at Locke High School, 325 East 111 Street, Los Angeles, advised that the school administration is currently undergoing pressure from leaders of militant organizations to allow representatives on the high school grounds. Speakers are requesting permission to address the student body at regular school assemblies. Source pointed out the pressure is great, because when the principal at Manual Arts High School opposed such groups his ouster was demanded.

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In the "Santa Ana Register," newspaper of Santa Ana, California, was an article reporting that Keith Lowe, Negro "black nationalist, University of California assistant professor," told approximately 40 students at the University of California at Irvine that violence was a "cleansing force" and guerrilla warfare tactics must be used to achieve a social revolution in the United States. Lowe criticized Russian Communism for "falling victim to its own bureaucracy" and pointed out in contrast that the "Chinese revolution is creating a spiritual revolution of the individual." He stated advancing technology has given society the means for oppression. He said, "We must, through guerrilla tactics, destroy this ability of technology to oppress us." (Issue of November 11, 1967).

In the "Los Angeles Herald-Examiner" of November 6, 1967, page A4, was an article reporting that Jacques Torczyner, national president of the Zionist Organization of America, stated at a press conference that there was a "definite anti-Semitic tendency" within the Negro movement in the United States. He stated it was the responsibility of the Negro leadership to put an immediate end to the situation.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 8, 1967, I-28, was an article reporting that New York Rabbi Mark H. Tannenbaum, of the American Jewish Committee, had charged that Congress, by refusing to support the anti-poverty program, was undermining Negro hopes and "raising the specter of a black nationalist war of liberation." Tannenbaum stated that he based his conclusions on a recent tour of the slum areas of several major cities.

On October 16, 1967, source four, an employee of the Los Angeles City School System, stated he believed the "Negro supremacy" doctrine was on the upswing in various schools in the Los Angeles area. He believed this might be temporary, however, and attributed it to the great amount of publicity being given the doctrine by the newspapers. Source named the following high schools in the Negro area, which are predominantly Negro:

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Dorsey
Fremont
Jefferson
Jordan
Locke
Los Angeles
Manual Arts
Washington

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 17, 1967, I-1, was an article reporting that bus drivers for the Rapid Transit District (RTD) in the Los Angeles area had announced they would conduct a walkout unless drivers in the South Los Angeles area and other "high crime" areas, were protected by armed guards on the buses, in the light of numerous robberies and assaults upon drivers in that area in recent years. Los Angeles County Supervisors allocated almost two million dollars for armed guards and two-way radios on local buses, but union spokesmen stated the offers were not enough to stave off a walkout. Sheriff Peter Pitchess stated he did not favor armed guards on buses, and RTD Manager, [redacted], stated he did not think the RTD should arm any of its men. The walkout is scheduled for November 27, 1967, unless guards are provided. A suggested source of the guards was from the ranks of retired police and sheriff's officers, and retired military personnel. The RTD further proposed allocating over \$1,700,000 from its reserve fund for the installation of two-way emergency radios in buses. District Attorney Evelle J. Younger ordered a "get tough" policy on prosecuting persons charged with robberies and assaults on bus drivers.

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On November 22, 1967, source seven, a high official of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, advised that installers and repairmen working from the company garage at 7510 South Figueroa Street, Los Angeles, had walked off the job at about 9:30 AM on November 21, 1967, to protest the company's refusal to assign two employees to each truck working in the South Central Los Angeles area, because of their fear of working individually. Source seven further advised that on November 22, 1967, employees at Repair and Installation garages of the company at 10600 South Vermont Avenue and 806 South Alameda Street, Los Angeles, either failed to come to work or

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walked out early in the day. Employees at a central office at 6900 South Vermont Avenue also demonstrated, to show their support for their fellow workers' demands.

Source seven further advised that at 11:20 AM on November 22, 1967, 105 demonstrators, representing employees assigned to the above garages, arrived by bus at the headquarters office, 740 South Olive Street, Los Angeles, and marched on the sidewalk near the main entrance. They carried signs expressing their demands for assignment of two employees per truck. The demonstrators departed the area at 1:00 PM on November 22, 1967.

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IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations referred to under the following sections have been involved in the local racial situation:

Section II

The WWV is still active in the Watts area of Los Angeles.

Section VII

The United Parents Council, headed by Mrs. [REDACTED], is still active in the South Los Angeles area.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

The following individuals referred to in the following sections have been involved in the local racial situations:

Section II

Budd Schulberg of the WWW is still active in the Watts area.

Section III

Reverend Martin Luther King has announced his intention of starting "operation breadbasket" in Los Angeles in the near future.

Section VII

Mrs. [REDACTED] of the United Parents Council is still active in efforts to change the schools in the South Los Angeles area.

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VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

No change.

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VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of October 23, 1967, I-3, was an article reporting that William Elkins, Director of the Teen Post program in the Los Angeles area, announced the situation at Manual Arts High School was proof that the Teen Post program should not have been cut back in funds. He stated administrators and volunteers of the program had worked in the high school area "keeping our kids off the streets." Elkins stated he and other administrators are attempting to have fund cuts reinstated locally, or obtain funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

MANUAL ARTS HIGH SCHOOL (MAHS)

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Dispatch" of October 26, 1967, page A8, was an article reporting that Mrs. Margaret Wright, "militant leader of the United Parents Council" (UPC), had won the battle, in that Mr. Robert Denahy, whose ouster as principal at the high school was demanded by black nationalist groups, would leave the school in February 1968. Mrs. Wright stated that despite the fact that Denahy was leaving, this would not solve the problems at Manual, Jefferson, Carver (junior high school), and other schools in the area, unless the Board of Education took steps to honor the 5-point program offered by the mothers in the area. This proposed program is as follows:

- (1) At least one full-time security officer should be assigned to schools in the area for the protection of faculty, staff, and law-abiding citizens.
- (2) Institute a more complete guidance program.
- (3) Greater use of special schools for problem students.
- (4) A better health program for the schools.
- (5) Replacement of worn-out and out of date books.

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In the "Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch" of October 26, 1967, page 1, was an article reporting that Celes King III, president of the Central Los Angeles Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), disavowed any responsibility for the "riotous disturbances" at MAHS. He stated the situation erupted because of the refusal of the School Board to honor the protests of parents. King stated charges had been filed with the School Board against principal Denahy in May 1967, asking for an executive session concerning the principal, however, the Board refused to hold the session on the technical ground the requests were not in writing. King stated he was trying to bring the entire matter before the courts, by obtaining an injunction against the spending of further funds by the Board in the building and maintenance of schools, to resolve the matter.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel," October 24, 1967, page A1, was an article reporting that Judge Ralph Nutter had issued a restraining order against Mrs. Margaret Wright to keep her from interfering with classes at MAHS. The article reported that half the 180 teachers at the school had appeared before the Board of Education to demand an injunction against "molestation by outsiders," and added security guards outside the school. School Board President, Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, announced the Board had voted to seek a court order banning all outside demonstrations at the school, to provide funds to improve education, and urging principal Denahy to stay on his job. Joseph M. Brooks, executive secretary of the Los Angeles Teachers Association, announced his group supported the MAHS teachers in their demands and threatened to close Los Angeles schools if their demands were not met. Walter Bremond, chairman of the Black Congress, described as a group representing 25 Negro organizations, was quoted as stating the Board of Education was not "off the hook" by its token appeasement. He stated his group would continue to press for general improvements, not only at MAHS, but in all city schools.

On October 30, 1967, source five, a prominent Negro leader in the Los Angeles area, advised he believed the local NAACP completely overstepped its boundaries when it became involved in the situation at MAHS. Source expressed the opinion the Board of Education should show great firmness in

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backing principal [redacted] and the Los Angeles District Attorney should give serious consideration to prosecuting any individuals who continue to threaten rights in the area. Source was of the opinion that the great mass of people would not be stirred up by the actions of the militants.

On November 14, 1967, source six, an employee of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, advised that there had been a complete change in the attitude on the part of current high school students in the South and Southeast portions of Los Angeles within the past two years. He advised students were flocking toward accepting the creeds of the black nationalists. He stated in many high schools in that area teachers enter restrooms in two's, since the more militant students have taken to waiting in restrooms to waylay unsuspecting teachers. Source further advised the School Board feels the next push by the black nationalists will be against Jefferson High School (JHS), at 1319 East Forty-First Street, Los Angeles. They feel the black nationalists will have more success at this school since a high percentage of the teaching staff is sympathetic to black nationalism in this area. Source advised Mrs. [redacted] [redacted] of the UPC, had tried to address students and teachers at JHS on November 1, 1967. She was denied admission to the school, but source was sure she would be back. Source further advised the School Board is setting up secret plans for workshops for school administrators to acquaint them with the tactics of black nationalist groups so that possible counter-measures can be effected.

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VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 2, 1967, II-4, was an editorial by Nick B. Williams regarding the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, which is investigating the causes of riots. The editorial recognized the committee might come up with some evidence of participation by subversive organizations, or even of conspiracy, but expressed the opinion that basic social and economic conditions were one of the primary causes of rioting and a change in these conditions would be the best means of preventing riots.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 7, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that Governor Ronald Reagan, in addressing a convention of California grocers, told them his administration was ready to move to stop riots before they start. He stated the chief function of government was to "protect society from the lawbreaker." Reagan's further remarks were a discussion of his administration.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

CONFIDENTIAL TO POLICE DEPARTMENTS ONLY

SPECIAL

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Police Bulletin

(For Circulation Among Police Officers Exclusively)

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OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF POLICE DEPARTMENT, CITY OF LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
CHIEF'S OFFICE, Police Building (Phone MADison 4-5211 — Connecting All Stations and Departments) Thomas Reddin, Chief of Police

October 25, 1967

FLAMMABLE MATERIAL

A product known as BURNOL has recently been made available commercially. BURNOL is the trade name for a prepared gelled or thickened fuel identical to Napalm. It is the same material used by our military aircraft in combat.

BURNOL was developed to assist fire and forest service personnel with starting back-fires and strip burns with a minimum of personal hazard. Although distributed exclusively to state and federal agencies and commercial lumber growers, there is the possibility of this material falling into the hands of unauthorized persons through theft or misdirection. BURNOL is shipped by common carrier only and these truck vans are vulnerable to theft and hijacking.

Permission for sales to other than governmental agencies must be obtained through a local fire service representative, and is verified independently by the distributor. It is available in 55 gallon open head steel drums and in grenades. The bulk gel can be handled with a scoop or shovel. It is a gelatinous opaque white material that can be ignited with a match, wick or torch. The grenades come in 1/2 pint, pint and quart sizes and are labeled "BURNOL BACK-FIRE GRENADES."

The back-fire grenades pictured on the reverse side consist of two parts; a metal can containing the gel, and a fuse with a self-igniter and detonator. These items are packed in separate containers for shipping. They are never shipped assembled. The fuse has an approximate 42 second burning time to detonation. The manufacturer claims a bursting radius of up to 15 feet for the grenade in an open area. The gelled material adheres readily to most surfaces and burns at about 1400° F. A pancake-size amount will burn for approximately seven minutes.

The top of each back-fire grenade has the number of that particular order inscribed on it. Because the can is designed to rupture easily without tearing the metal, all debris from an exploded grenade should be recovered within a radius of 40 feet. The blast pattern varies widely depending upon the position of the can at the time of detonation. Particular effort should be made to recover the numbered top by which all shipments may be traced. Later models may have a separate identifying tag inside the can where it cannot be observed or obliterated. The manufacturer is Explosives Engineering Corp., Box 787, Fontana, California, telephone (714) 823-3457/58.

BURNOL gel is classified as a "Flammable Material" under section 452a of the California State Penal Code. Possession is illegal only where there is intent to use it for an illegal purpose. The fuse/detonator is a "Class A" explosive and requires a permit to purchase under Division 11, Section 12101 of the H & S Code. It too is covered by Section 452a of the Penal Code.

Any recovered gel, fuses or debris from an exploded grenade should be handled as prescribed by departmental policies and regulations.

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KINDLY NOTIFY CHIEF OF POLICE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

(Over) - 19* -

F B I

Date: 11/22/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 11/7/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Local military agencies, the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
1	Former [redacted]
2	[redacted]
3	[redacted] Los Angeles

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- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (AM)
(1 - Training Division)
- ② - Los Angeles
- ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

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(5)

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED SC
FILED SC

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

100-66078-1319

Source	Identity of Source
4	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> Los Angeles City School System
5	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> NAACP and current NAACP member
6	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 15px; margin-bottom: 5px;"></div> Los Angeles City Board of Education
7	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 15px;"></div>

Los Angeles City School System

NAACP and current NAACP member

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Los Angeles City Board of Education

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources two and seven could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from November 6 through November 20, 1967, nine PCIs and two PSIs were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

One copy of the LHM is designated for the Training Division to inform them of a new product, "Burnol," referred to in Section 2. A copy of a Los Angeles Police Department Bulletin concerning this product is also attached.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES	DATE <i>JK</i> 11/21/67	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/3/67 - 11/17/67
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY [Redacted]	TYPED BY asi
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [Redacted] dated 8/31/67, at Los Angeles.

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ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters concerned in this report.

This report is classified confidential because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

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ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS None	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>JK</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM) 1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM) 1 - NISO, San Diego (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 1 - San Diego (100-13295) (RM) 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) 3 - Los Angeles (100-66078) <i>JK</i>		100-66078-1335	
		SEARCHED	—
		INDEXED	—
		SERIALIZED	<i>R</i>
		FILED	<i>#</i>

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations [Redacted]
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

LA 100-66078

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

LA T-1

LA T-2

LA T-3

LA T-4

LA T-5

LA T-6

LA T-7

LA T-8

LA T-9

LA T-10

b7D

LA 100-66078

SOURCE

LOCATION

LA T-11

[REDACTED]

LA T-12

[REDACTED]

LA T-13

[REDACTED]

LA T-14

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena. (RM)
1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: [Redacted]
Date: 11/21/67

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Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Strategy and tactics of the Southern California District
Communist Party (SCDCP) in racial matters set forth.

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Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
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LA 100-66078

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DETAILS:

Unless otherwise noted, all addresses mentioned in this report are in Los Angeles, California.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CP, USA)

LA T-1 (7/25, 26/67)

Source advised that a school was held by the CP, USA, from June 17, 1967, through July 9, 1967, at Camp Loujack (formerly known as Camp Unity), near Pawling, New York. At one session of this school, it was stated that there was a need to unite the Peace Movement and Black People's Movement.

B. SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)

LA T-2 (7/28/67)

At a meeting of the West Adams Club, Moranda Smith Section (MSS), SCDCP, held July 24, 1967, at 3048 Victoria, there was a discussion concerning the riots that have been happening around the country. At the meeting, it was mentioned that these riots needed leadership and guidance and that the Communist Party (CP) must involve itself. It was further mentioned that the leadership of these riots should start to make demands in regards to jobs, housing, and education so as to make the riots meaningful.

LA T-3 (8/21/67)
LA T-4 (8/17/67)

A meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held August 9, 1967, at 1733 West 84th Street. During a discussion of peace marches, it was mentioned that all Negroes should take part in these peace marches. It was further mentioned that it is hard to get the Negroes out because none of the major civil rights groups endorse the marches. One of the members at the meeting stated that some of the Party (CP) people in the civil rights groups should try to get them to endorse the peace marches.

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LA T-4 (8/3/67)

A meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held July 26, 1967, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. At this meeting, the riot in Detroit, Michigan, was discussed. Most of the members agreed that the Party (CP) should try to establish communication with the Negro people by trying to get closer to them and to help them solve their problems.

LA T-5 (8/3/67)

A meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDPC, was held July 18, 1967, at 325 East 108th Street, Apartment 1. There was a general discussion at this meeting concerning the answer to the problems of the Negro youth and it was generally agreed that education and jobs were vitally needed.

LA T-5 (8/3/67)

A District Committee meeting of the SCDCP was held on July 1, 1967, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. During a discussion of the Peace Movement, it was brought out that the Party (CP) should aid in continuing the Peace Movement and to unite with other organizations and groups such as the Negro Community to combat police brutality.

LA T-6 (8/2/67)

On July 24, 1967, a meeting of the San Bernardino - Riverside County Club, SCDCP, was held at 2362 Blake Street, Muscoy, California. During this meeting, a discussion was held concerning the various race riots throughout the country. It was suggested during the meeting that the Party (CP) should get into the black community to bring forth the CP program.

LA T-1 (8/14/67)

On July 27, 1967, a joint meeting of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) CP Club and the Youth Commission, SCDCP, was held at 1920 South Federal. During a discussion of the various riots around the country, it was stated that the purpose of the role that the young Communists should play since they are mainly white is that they should be working in the white community to organize some sort of feeling of sympathy and support for the Negroes involved in the riots.

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LA T-9 (8/25/67)

A meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDCP, was held on August 15, 1967, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. A discussion was held concerning Negro and white unity and Negro work in general. Also discussed was the role the whites should play in relation to the CP's work among Negroes.

LA T-10 (8/29/67)

A meeting of the Section Organizers, Section Organizational Secretaries and Club Chairmen, SCDCP, was held August 16, 1967, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, spoke and made the statement that Black Power can best be won at this time through an alliance with the New Politics Movement.

LA T-3 (8/25/67)

A meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held August 23, 1967, at 824 West 74th Street. An announcement was made at this meeting that the Party (CP) wants more Negroes to join the Peace Movement.

LA T-11 (9/18/67)

A meeting of the Aaron Johnson Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held September 6, 1967, at 1803 Arapahoe Street. During the meeting, it was announced that the Section is having a conference on Black Power on September 23, 1967, and all Section members were urged to attend.

LA T-2 (9/26/67)
LA T-3 (9/29/67)
LA T-13 (10/4/67)
LA T-14 (10/4/67)

A meeting of the MSS, SCDCP, was held September 23, 1967, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. BILL TAYLOR, Chairman of Negro Affairs, SCDCP, spoke and stated there was a need for more discussion on Black Power. TAYLOR said that the CP was

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isolated from the movements in Watts, California, area due to the lack of Negro community to work in this area. He also made the statement during this meeting that the whites should join in the Negro struggles but must be careful not to take over the leadership.

II. TACTICS

LA T-3 (8/21/67)

Source advised on this date that the SCDCP is busy trying to line up more people in the Negro community for the peace groups.

LA T-3 (8/21/67)
LA T-7 (8/17/67)

A meeting of the MSS, SCDCP, was held August 14, 1967, at 3048 Victoria. At this meeting, it was announced that another full-time staff member had been added by the Party (CP) to work among the people in the Negro community on peace and the New Politics.

LA T-2 (8/14/67)

A meeting of the West Adams Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held August 7, 1967, at 2128 3rd Avenue. During the meeting, a discussion was held on the recent race riots and one member stated that the CP will take firmer positions in the near future in order to develop more militancy on the part of the working class.

LA T-8 (8/18/67)

A meeting of members of the Northern and Southern California District Boards, CP, was held July 30, 1967, at the Hacienda Inn, Fresno, California. DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the SCDCP, spoke at this meeting concerning putting a third party on the ballot by petition. During her speech, she stated that the CP should align themselves with the Mexican and Negro people who are striving for representation in one of the major political parties.

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LA T-2 (9/21/67)

A meeting of the MSS, SCDCP, was held September 18, 1967, at 3048 Victoria. [redacted] a member of the National Committee, CP, USA, attended and spoke. During her speech, she announced that she is going to teach Marxist classes to the "young black militants" in a few weeks. She also stated that plans are presently being discussed for possibly having open CP meetings in areas like Watts and the Mexican communities.

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LA T-12 (10/5/67)

A meeting of the West Adams Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held September 25, 1967, at 3048 Victoria. It was announced at this meeting that for the next month all clubs would be discussing Black Power. Instructions were given during the meeting to a member of the club who belonged to the Teamsters Union to organize a meeting of striking teamsters in order to inform them on Black Power but not to let them know that this meeting would be Communist inspired.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
November 21, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-66078

Title COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA [redacted]
dated and captioned as above,
at Los Angeles.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Los Angeles (100-66078) DATE: 11-27-67

FROM : SA b6
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SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated 11-21-67. The review for this report was made from serial 1215 through serial 1286.

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
17	1217, 1218, 1219, 1226, 1227, 1228, 1229, 1232, 1233, 1234, 1235, 1236, 1237, 1238, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1242, 1243, 1244, 1245, 1246, 1247, 1248, 1249
18	1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1265, 1266, 1267, 1268, 1272, 1273, 1275, 1281, 1282, 1283, 1284, 1285, 1286

1335/A
100-66078-1289

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
DEC 27 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

No. of copies _____

Approved _____
Destroyed by JR Date 12-28-67



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
December 4, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

- 11 - Bureau (157-6-26) (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, LA (RM)
- ② - Los Angeles (157-943)
- ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

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(18)

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FILED Jc

100-66078-1336

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken in consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

- I. NAME OF COMMUNITY; CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", Los Angeles Negro newspaper, of November 16, 1967, page 3, was an article reporting on a book written by former Berkeley Sociologist Gary T. Marx entitled "Protest and Prejudice" (Harper and Row). The article reported the book "sharply refuted sensational statements on Negro anti-semitism, hatred of whites in general, resistance to the draft and support of black nationalism." Marx wrote that 81 percent of the metropolitan Negroes questioned believed social and economic conditions were improving. A majority of Negroes believed civil rights demonstrations had helped them; stated they would not be afraid to take part in demonstrations, and believed Negro and white children should go to the same schools. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People also received the largest vote from Negroes who believed the group was doing the most to help them.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 22, 1967, I-3, was an article reporting that the first racial census at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) revealed minority students comprised approximately 12 percent of the student body. The minorities are broken down as follows, based upon 23,139 replies from the 29,070 students enrolled:

1,655 Orientals
514 Negroes
303 Mexican-Americans
97 American Indians
154 Miscellaneous

Kenneth Washington, Director of the UCLA Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), stated, "If we are going to serve the community, we are going to have to lower the barriers that exist." He stated the barrier might be finances, geography, or cultural adjustment. He stated if people

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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believed that the spread of ability was comparable in all groups, and the only differences were cultural, the campus should have about 16 percent Negro students and 18 to 19 percent Mexican-Americans. He stated there were 385 students at UCLA as a result of the EOP program. This involved special recruiting in Negro and Mexican-American high schools, and tutors to assist students after they arrive at school.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 29, 1967, II-6, was an article reporting that the Regional Office of the Federally operated Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was moving toward affirmative action rather than concentrating on complaints received from persons feeling they were the victims of discrimination. Lorenzo Traylor, head of the Regional Office, stated he and his staff were beginning to press companies and unions for voluntary programs to help urban employment. He stated they were also contacting firms which might be able to move into the Southeast Los Angeles area with jobs and training. He stated there were some companies which were putting up resistance to conciliation, however, many companies were coming to the Commission for help and advice.

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III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 23, 1967, Section 1, was an article reporting Mayor Samuel Yorty warned that continued attacks on police, coupled with mounting public disrespect, could leave South-Central Los Angeles without police protection. He stated if help does not come from the area, things could get so bad that police could not go into the area. Mayor Yorty made his announcement in view of demands by bus drivers and telephone workers for more protection while working in the area. He also criticized the American Civil Liberties Union and "some courts" of contributing to the deterioration of law enforcement because of cases they accept charging police brutality, and stated "their true purpose is not in the best interest of the country".

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Examiner" of November 25, 1967, A-2, was an article reporting that striking telephone company installers were back on the job and that the Rapid Transit District workers were adopting a "wait and see" attitude before going on strike over a demand for armed guards on buses in the South-Central Los Angeles area.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 26, 1967, C-1, was an article reporting that Negroes in the South-Central Los Angeles area were resigned to the fact that "their isolation is growing" and were beginning to despair on improvement in their position. Residents of the area complained that all services, such as buses, had been deteriorating in recent years. Ben Peery, former President of the Watts Coordinating Council, stated responsible people were the ones getting hurt and called for "strict and unrelenting law enforcement against all robbers" to encourage more services in the area. An agency worker stated residents of the Watts area realized new stores are

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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not being built in the area and find they cannot get loans on their houses. Several residents expressed the opinion that reaction to Negroes in the area was "political" and an effort to make them move out.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 29, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that Wesley R. Brazier, age 50, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Urban League and a City Human Relations Commission member, announced he was filing a \$50,000 claim against the city alleging abuse by a police officer. Brazier stated he was working in his office on Sunday when a burglar alarm went off in the building. A police officer and a private guard apparently mistook him for a burglar. Brazier stated they handcuffed him, made him kneel and cross his legs before giving him the opportunity to identify himself. Brazier stated he had always argued against the charge of police brutality prior to his experience.

On December 4, 1967, source one, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised the general racial situation in the Los Angeles area appeared calm, however, the LAPD continues to observe instances of Negroes cooperating on programs up to a point, then changing their minds upon hearing of objections by any segment of the Negro people, indicating Negro leaders are extremely sensitive to any protest from other Negroes, and shy away from firm stands on changes in their area. Source could not predict any violence in the foreseeable future.

LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

On November 27, 1967, source two, who has connections with the criminal element in the Long Beach area, advised he was aware that "every Negro" in the area had a gun of some type and the conditions were becoming worse instead of better in the area. However, source could not predict any violence in the foreseeable future.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The following organizations referred to under Section VII below have been involved in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

The Black Student Union has become active on the campus in the Los Angeles area.

A Western Regional Black Youth Conference was held in Los Angeles between November 24 and 26, 1967.

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MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MINORITY
LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY
COMMUNITY AND POSSIBLE POINTS
OF CONTENTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

MANUAL ARTS HIGH SCHOOL (MAHS)

On November 20, 1967, a racial disturbance erupted at the above high school over demands by militant Negroes for the ouster of Principal [] and a change in various policies at the school. The disturbance showed signs of continuing unless the demands of the demonstrators were met by the Los Angeles City Board of Education.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 23, 1967, page A-7, was an article reporting that Cornell A. Henderson had been granted a new trial on a charge of inciting a riot during the course of an MAHS demonstration above. His trial is set for January 3, 1968, after a jury could not agree upon a verdict concerning him.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 28, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, New York Neurosurgeon and Director of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO), had announced his group had purchased a charter bus company and bus line operating in the South Los Angeles area. The purchase included 26 buses and franchise to operate in the area.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 1, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that residents of the Watts area had accused the Community Redevelopment Agency (CRA) of mishandling information and failing to keep residents informed of plans for urban renewal in Watts. Committee spokesman stated they wanted a renewal project, but not if it would open the door for industry along One Hundred Third Street. Spokesman for the Watts Development Advisory Committee announced the group had changed its position and was no longer supporting the plan to allow limited industry in the area. (See Section VIII below)

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BLACK STUDENTS UNION (BSU)

A BSU-newsletter, dated October 7, 1967, was distributed on the campus at California State College, Los Angeles (CSCLA), and set out the background, purpose and belief of the organization. Its main objective was "to educate and inform" black students about issues pertaining to them and particularly those dealing with their just struggle for freedom. Weekly meetings were to be held so that students could become better informed regarding the forces which influence their lives. Planned projects of the group were to include tutoring, a "black studies" program and the collection of clothing, food and money for a Mississippi survival project.

In the November 10, 1967, edition of "College Times", newspaper of CSCLA, was an article reporting that BSU representatives had appeared at the editorial offices of the paper, requesting the paper refrain from using the word Negro and to refer to such persons as "black, Afro-American, or African-American". The student editor declined this request.

WESTERN REGIONAL BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE

On October 26, 1967, source three advised that the BSU at San Francisco State College intended sending a bus load of members to a conference to be held in Los Angeles in the near future.

On November 7, 1967, source four furnished literature advertising the above conference to be held at the Second Baptist Church, 2412 South Griffin Street, Los Angeles. The literature indicated that Regional Black Youth Conferences (BYC) were to be held, prior to a National BYC to be held in Chicago in December, and this program evolved from the National Black Conference which had been held in Newark, New Jersey.

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Purposes of the conference were to establish a National Black Communication System, create awareness and activity in Western States, establish unity with inner city groups, and present new alternatives as to the means used to cast off oppression.

The above conference convened at the above church at 6:00 PM on November 23, 1967, and during the evening, a fight erupted between picketing members of the Communist Party, USA, Marxist-Leninist (see appendix), and members of the "United Front", a militant black nationalist organization in the Los Angeles area. During the fight, shots were fired and one [redacted] was wounded. Predictions were made by sources present of possible violence between the followers of Malcolm X and the followers of the Nation of Islam (see appendix). The conference broke into workshops on November 24 and 25, 1967.

On November 27, 1967, source five advised the conference appeared to be a failure, and described the Negro athlete boycott of the 1968 Olympics as a "big hoax". Source advised threats were made that Negro athletes who did not support the boycott would be "taken care of". Source further advised the conference appeared to be a "big flop", with very little being accomplished.

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In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 24, 1967, III-1, was an article reporting that a group of Negro athletes, including UCLA basketball star Lew Alcindor and San Jose track stars Tommie Smith and Lee Evans, had voted unanimously at the BYC to boycott the 1968 Olympic Games. The boycott was announced by Sociology Professor Harry Edwards of San Jose State College. He stated the reason for the boycott was that "this country is not for us so why should we worry about the country?"

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 25, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that UCLA basketball star Lew Alcindor announced he had not yet made up his mind about

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

participating in the Olympic Games in 1968. He stated he agreed with the idea of the boycott but might make his protest known in some other way.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 25, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that former Negro Olympic stars indicated their opposition to the above boycott. The stars included Olympic decathlon champion Rafer Johnson, long jump champion Ralph Boston and Jesse Owens, winner of four gold medals in 1936. Cassius Clay, Olympic boxing champion in 1960, indicated he was in favor of the boycott.

On November 27, 1967, source six, an LAPD official, advised [redacted], who was shot during picketing activities outside the above conference, was a member of the black nationalist group known as the "United Front" which purports to be a pro-Red China group in the Los Angeles area.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 23, 1967, page 4A, was an article reporting that the Los Angeles City Board of Education had established a task force to work on special problems of school-community relations in South-East Los Angeles. Dr. William J. Settle was named as Director in the South Los Angeles area, and Dr. John F. Leon was named Director of a similar force in East Los Angeles. The task forces are expected to improve communications between parents, citizens and school staff. Cost of the project will be \$135,000.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 24, 1967, II-4, was an editorial by Nick B. Williams, commenting upon the "apparent surprise" of the community Redevelopment Agency (see Section VII) in Los Angeles over community opposition to urban renewal plans for the Watts area of Los Angeles. The editorial reported lack of support was so obvious that the City Planning Commission withheld its approval of the program. Officials of the United States Housing and Urban Development had told the CRA that survey and planning work would take 18 to 30 months rather than the six months allotted. The editorial concluded the problem was bad communication which must be overcome before redevelopment can proceed.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

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On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M-L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 5, 1967, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam".

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
The Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 12/4/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and LHM dated 11/22/67.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Local military agencies, the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
1	[Redacted]
2	[Redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11)
- ② - Los Angeles
- ① - 100-66078)(CIRM)

LDJ/asi
(5)

[Handwritten signature]

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED JC
FILED JC

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Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OFFICE COPY

100-66078-1337

LA 157-943

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
3	[REDACTED]
4	[REDACTED] Racial Liaison Source
5	[REDACTED]
6	[REDACTED] Los Angeles Police Department Intelligence

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b7D

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources one, three and five could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 11/20 through 12/4/67, six PCIs and no PSIs were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES

DATE: December 12, 1967

FROM : SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE
IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS-C

Re memo of SA [redacted] to SAC, SAN DIEGO dated 11-15-67,
and captioned COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, IS-C, San Diego file 100-741.

Referenced memo sets out the following information from
[redacted] (10-16-67) and is filed in San Diego file [redacted]:

On 10-10-67 BEN DOBBS met with [redacted] and [redacted] at
[redacted]'s residence. DOBBS was interested in knowing what could be
done to recruit Negroes into the CP in San Diego. [redacted] pointed out
that this was a heavy defense contract area and that the Negroes are
not in a position economically to jeopardize their livelihood just for
the sake of the CP. He pointed out that they are working where they
can and where there is no risk to their earnings but that it is not
feasible to ask them to jeopardize their jobs. DOBBS had to agree with
this line of reasoning.

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DOBBS then asked if there were black race organizations in
San Diego such as the Black Knights, Black Panthers, Black Guard and
so on which he said were active in Los Angeles. [redacted] said that to his
knowledge, none of these groups were active in San Diego. DOBBS said
the CP is interested in infiltrating such groups and that if any were
formed in San Diego [redacted] should try to get in one of them. The rest of
the meeting was pretty much concerned with personal talk.

cc 1-Los Angeles(100-66078)

JWW:jww

100-66078-1338

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
DEC 12 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Signature]



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

December 20, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

- 12 - Bureau
(1 - 100-442529)(CIRM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena
- 1 - OSI
- 1 - NIS, San Diego
- 1 - Secret Service,
Los Angeles
- ③ - Los Angeles (157-943)
(1 - 100-66078)(CIRM)

LDJ/pabvz
(20)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken in consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", Los Angeles Negro newspaper of November 30, 1967, page 1A, was an article reporting that the Los Angeles District Attorney was investigating graft in "Operation Job Power", which was operated during the summer months by the Westminster Neighborhood Association (WNA). Investigators reportedly had uncovered "hard evidence" of graft, kickbacks, conflict of interest, and outright theft in the \$158,000 program. The program included delivery, gardening, catering and telephone answering services. The article emphasized the District Attorney was not investigating the WNA. Checks were allegedly cashed in the names of youths who did not work, and some youths cashed their checks in a local pawn shop and turned over part of their money to program officials. Indictments are being considered for some individuals at the present time.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 30, 1967, page 8C, was an article reporting that John Denton, Attorney, Appraiser, and former Executive Director of the California Governor's Commission for the Study of the Rumford Act, had written a book entitled "Apartheid American Style" (Diablo Press, Berkeley), which developed the thesis that American realtors were operating a private control system to impose the ghetto system of South Africa on the U. S. Denton, who formerly taught at the University of California at Berkeley, claimed the California Real Estate Association had lobbied with the university against him until his job was eliminated.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 7, 1967, page 7A, was an article reporting on a federally subsidized program of the Commerce Department to pay up to 100 percent of the extra cost of training hard-core unemployed persons for jobs in industry. A spokesman stated that 23 companies in Los Angeles are expected to provide up to 2,500 jobs. Los Angeles is one of five target cities in the program.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 7, 1967, page 3D, was an article reporting that Nathan Perlmutter, Director of Domestic Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, had told the committee at its annual meeting in San Francisco that the Negro middle class, motivated by "rising expectations" had triggered the riots in the U. S., rather than the poor and uneducated Negro. He called for a government five year plan against discrimination, as a crucial move psychologically. He suggested breaking up the ghettos, a guaranteed minimum income, and providing education and jobs. He also suggested incentives to private business to invest in ghetto areas.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 14, 1967, page 8A, was an article reporting that the Los Angeles City Human Relations Commission had held a workshop for more than 100 youths at Lincoln Park Recreational Center in East Los Angeles. Speakers described the programs of several agencies involved in training youths for jobs, and how they could seek work or on the job training. Lincoln Park is a predominately Mexican-American area of Los Angeles.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

On December 18, 1967, source one, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), advised the racial situation in the South Los Angeles area was generally calm; however, a continued high level of unemployment among the unskilled workers in the area tends to create law enforcement problems, and an increased possibility of an incident which could lead to a riotous situation. Source could not predict any violence in the near future.

On December 13, 1967, source, a director of a poverty project in the Los Angeles area, advised there has been an increase in the number of young men and women who are being stopped and apparently harrassed by the LAPD in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Source conjectured this may be because of the increased number of police assigned to the area because of a rash of robberies of bus drivers; however, the feeling of the community is that harrassment is again growing and resentment against the police is growing.

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Examiner" of November 29, 1967, was an article reporting that James Harris, LAPD Detective, had testified before the U. S. Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D. C., that communists had worked to organize Watts Negroes to protest against the police. He testified that prior to the riots, Michael Lasky, whom Harris identified as the head of the Communist Party (CP), USA (Marxist-Leninist) (See Appendix), had been President of the Provisional Organizing Committee to Re-Constitute the Marxist-Leninist CP (See Appendix) in 1964, and this group had created a "Watts Action Council", which demonstrated on at least three occasions in front of police stations in the Watts area, protesting alleged police brutality. The demonstrations had occurred in the Spring and early Summer before the Watts riot of August 1965.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 7, 1967, page 10B, was an article reporting on the progress of Mr. C. O. Rucker, a 50 year old Negro who had been without a job until he became involved in the Westminster Neighborhood Association (WNA), and in two years had risen to be second in command of the Watts United Credit Union. His supervisor, Ocie Pastard, commented upon the tremendous change in Rucker since he came to work and stated he was sure Rucker could now handle his, Pastard's, job. Rucker is also the Director of the Community Action Program at WNA. The WNA is funded through the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CC~~

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

[redacted] and [redacted] officials in the
WNA, are also officials in charge of the Watts United
Credit Union in the Watts area of Los Angeles. [redacted]
[redacted] is the newly appointed [redacted] of the
WNA.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

No change.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONTENTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of November 30, 1967, page 8A, was an article reporting on the testing of weapons of "maiming, shocking, and death dealing proportions" by police departments to be used against "mass demonstrators and rioters". The article reported on police use of .41 caliber Magnum revolvers, the Stoner rifle which tumbles its bullets, the chemical mace, an electrified net, and the use of foam to envelope people. Experiments are also being conducted with an instant glue to halt fleeing crowds; a dye spray for later identification, and flame throwers. The article reported the American Civil Liberties Union was looking into the legal aspects of such weapons.

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Dispatch", Los Angeles Negro newspaper, of November 30, 1967, page 8, was an editorial-type column by Mrs. Pat Alexander, Editor of the newspaper, reporting that the public was demanding that Joe Maldonado, Executive Secretary of the EYOA in Los Angeles, investigate to find missing funds from a group set up to study Mexican-American problems. According to the editorial, almost one million dollars in funds was missing. The editorial pointed out that Maldonado had led the investigation to close a St. Stephens (Operation Headstart) Program, and was to close the WNA. The editorial claimed that "those behind the scenes" in the EYOA were "all rich at the taxpayer's expense".

In the "Los Angeles Times" of December 5, 1967, II-1, was an article reporting that predominantly Negro groups had appeared at an EYOA board hearing and charged that white administrators of special projects were doing a poor job in minority communities. Reverend James Jordan, who lost his position as head of the St. Stephens United Community Association because of "serious, uncorrected problems", accused the EYOA of stirring up a "big mess" and stated they did not want outsiders telling them how to run the community. Mrs. Margaret Wright, President of the United Parents Council,

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

who was involved in the dispute at Manual Arts High School (below) stated all the programs were a waste of money when their children were reading two or three years below level, and demanded to know why all the reading experts were white, asking if there were not any black or brown experts. The EYOA decided to wait for a sub-committee hearing on changes in their hiring directives.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 7, 1967, page 6A, was an editorial by Colonel Leon H. Washington, Jr., reminding police Chief Thomas Reddin of his views on police-community relations and pointing out that "every Monday morning" the Sentinel was deluged with calls complaining of police malpractice. The editorial suggested Reddin and his assistants work a little harder to get their message of treating all citizens with respect down to the "grass roots".

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 7, 1967, page 6A, was a column by Wesley R. Brazier, former head of the Los Angeles Urban League, wherein he criticized the LAPD for indignities suffered during his temporary custody on suspicion of being a burglar. Brazier wrote he understood the officer covering him with a gun and frisking him; however, he was critical of the officer's refusal to allow him to identify himself until after he had been handcuffed and forced to his knees. Brazier complained that a letter of complaint to the Chief of Police brought a response that the officer appeared to have been acting in an appropriate manner. Brazier expressed the hope that his experience will highlight a "humiliating and senseless procedure" with an ultimately greater justice to all citizens.

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MANUAL ARTS HIGH SCHOOL (MAHS)

On October 20, 1967, a major disturbance occurred at MAHS, 4131 Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, where a group of Negro demonstrators had been picketing intermittently for a period of months, demanding the ouster of Principal [redacted] for being unresponsive to the wishes of the community. A total of 200 to 300 riot-armed police were on a tactical alert and finally moved to pick up the disturbance. Approximately 85 male Negroes were arrested as the result of the disturbance.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Source one advised that the demonstrations appeared to be an effort on the part of black nationalists in the Los Angeles area to test their power, and if successful, trouble was expected at other high schools in Negro areas of Los Angeles.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 14, 1967, page 5A, reporting that the temporary restraining order issued against Mrs. Margaret Wright and 50 John Does against interference with the use and occupancy of MAHS had been continued to January 8, 1968. Consideration will be given to a former injunction against the defendant at that time. The hearing was postponed at the request of Mrs. Wright's Attorney.

On December 18, 1967, source one advised that tension still existed in the predominately Negro high schools of the South Los Angeles area; however, at the present time, no actions by black nationalists were being taken against high schools other than the MAHS.

In the Los Angeles "Herald-Examiner" of December 1, 1967, page A13, was an article reporting that the City Planning Commission had scheduled a new hearing on the Watts Re-Development Plan for January 25, 1967, after complaints against the plan were expressed by community groups. The Citizens Advisory Committee had complained that survey data and other documents had been "withheld" from the group and the committee adopted a resolution opposing industrial uses in the re-development area.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 14, 1967, page 4A, was an article reporting that John Cope, Vice-President of the Watts Branch, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called for the immediate elimination of half-day school sessions in minority areas to combat a reported reading gap. California State tests given recently indicated many children in poverty areas were practically illiterate when it came to reading.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 14, 1967, page 6A, was a column by Congressman Augustus Hawkins concerning urban renewal in the Watts area. He urged the city to include more residents of the community involved in a Citizens Advisory Committee to study plans. He pointed out that this re-development would be unsuccessful without the cooperation of the community.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF THE
COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of November 30, 1967, II-8, was an article reporting that the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges voted against including a racial identification question on application forms for admission, as required by Federal regulations. They called on Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke to determine the consequences of their refusal. The board recognized that the purpose of the ruling was to eliminate racial discrimination but was apprehensive over student reaction to the question.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of December 14, 1967, page 11D, was an article reporting that Wilson D. Riles, California State Director of Compensatory Education, had reported that special projects in poverty area schools had substantially increased the achievements of the children enrolled. Statistics established that prior to the program, children from such areas had been averaging about .7 percent per month gain for every month of instruction; however, after the program, the children were averaging more than one month of achievement for every month in the program. Special teachers, reading laboratories, and a low pupil-teacher ratio were aspects of the program.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego, the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
MARXIST-LENINIST (CPUSA, M-L)

On August 24, 1965, a source advised that the West Coast Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (WCPOC) was formed in Los Angeles, California, on August 23, 1965, under the leadership of [redacted]. Although similar in name, the newly organized WCPOC had no connection whatsoever with the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party (POC) or the latter's West Coast POC.

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On September 7, 1965, the above source advised that a National Conference of the newly formed WCPOC was held over the September 4-5, 1965, weekend in Los Angeles. At that meeting, the name WCPOC was dropped, and the CPUSA, M L was formed under [redacted]'s leadership. The CPUSA, M-L has the following aims and purposes:

1. To conduct guerrilla warfare training, including the use of firearms;
2. To organize CPUSA, M-L cells in the South to exploit all "racial situations" that might arise there, to agitate the population, and create situations which would require the use of Federal Troops so that Americans would be fighting Americans;
3. To establish and maintain an accelerated recruiting program to include acceptance of anyone who is an anti-imperialist.

On May 5, 1967, the above source advised that the CPUSA, M-L continued to exist.

APPENDIX

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

PROVISIONAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR
A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY (POC)

The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, contains the following on pages 142-143.

1. Founded to be "a new Communist splinter group". The Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party "also known as the POC * * * was formed in August, 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who were dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the party and, while within it, had referred to themselves as the Marxist-Leninist Caucus."

"The leaders and participants in the Provisional Organizing Committee group had been expelled from the Communist Party on the technical charge of 'disruptive, factional, anti-party activities.'

"The POC group is composed largely of extreme left-wing elements from the Communist Party. Throughout the party's history, there have been contending right and left-wing factions which, in periods of turmoil such as the party has gone through in the recent past, have fought for control. The POC elements lost out in this recent struggle within the U.S. party ***."

"The one fact that is completely clear today is that the POC group is made up of hard-core, dedicated, and extremist Communists, who despite their present differences with the Communist Party leadership, are intent upon doing all within their power to speed the achievement of the goals of international communism."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report for 1959, House Report 1251, February 8, 1960, pp. 69 and 70.)

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-12-2011

FBI

Date: 12/20/67

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 12/4/66.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above. One copy of the LHM has been designated for Bureau file 100-442529 (CIRM).

Local military agencies; the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles; and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

Source Identity of Source

1 [Redacted]

2 [Redacted]

Los Angeles
[Redacted]

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b7D

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 12)(RM)
- ② - Los Angeles
- ① - 100-66078)(CIRM)

LDJ/pab
(5)

[Handwritten signature]

no new info.

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

[Handwritten initials]

LA 157-943

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by source one could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 12/5/67 through 12/18/67, 25 PCIs and two PSIs were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1763)

DATE: 12/28/67

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CALIFORNIS DISTRICT
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS - C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Meeting of District Committee SCDCP, 11/12/67	11/28/67	Writer	[REDACTED]

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: 1 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)
100- [REDACTED]

(Retained copy maintained in file [REDACTED])

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[REDACTED]

100-65128	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-34642	(ADMIRAL DAWSON) (SI)
100-63949	(ROBERT DUGGAN) (SI)	100-46044	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-64507	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-32439	(COMMUNIST PARTY LINE)
100-67224	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-39681	(CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
100-56057	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-66078	(CIRM)
100-67803	(KENDRA ALEXANDER) (SI)	100-23397	(CPUSA BRIEF)
100-60605	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-59473	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-52571	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-66473	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-64984	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-39704	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-40441	(FLORENCE KUSHNER) (SI)		
100-4486	(DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)		
100-4663	(BEN DOBBS) (SI)		
100-30439	(WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)		
100-3108	[REDACTED] (SI)		
100-23660	(ROSE CHERNIN) (SI)		
100-30398	[REDACTED] (SI)		

100-66078-1391

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - LOS ANGELES	

RHB/djy
(28) *dtj* Read by *dtj*

LA 100-1763

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

The following is a report of a meeting of the District Committee of the Southern California District Communist party which was held a Sunday, ~~August, 13~~ ^{W.D.} ~~mean~~ November 12, 1967, at Hungarian Hall which is at 1254 South St. Andrews Place in Los Angeles.

Sunday's District Committee meeting was an unusually large one. There were perhaps almost 50 or so people present. The main reason being that it was a discussion and a report of the recent National Commission meeting held by the Party in New York on Negro affairs.

Attached to this report are a copy of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's report to this commission, plus also, some comentaries by RUSCOE PROCTOR on Negro work and Negro problems.

Some of the people who were in attendance of this meeting were as follows:

[redacted]
BOB DUGGAN
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
KENDER ALEXANDER
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
FLOE KUSHNER (wife of above)
DOROTHY HEALEY
BEN DOBBS
BILL TAYLOR
[redacted]
ROSE CHERNIN
[redacted] [redacted]

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b7c

W.D.

[redacted] last name unknown, from
the Echo Park area
[redacted] his last name unknown, he is the
new addition to the People's World. He
will eventually be taking over [redacted]'s place.

The topic of discussion, well, there was not much
differences in opinions etc., on discussion. Some may be
on this question of violence or self defense in terms of Negro
communities etc., but generally I would advise a careful
study of the Lightfoot report because it does show a new turn
in party line. These party lines, now, in terms of the Negro
question in America is much different than it was before. It
is much more militant and it, you know, has gone more over
towards the Black Power people in terms of it doesn't look upon
nationalism as peti-bourgeois nationalism, it sees the good
things of Negro nationalism, etc., and it makes a clear cut
statement on violence in terms that the party doesn't advocate
violence *per se*, but it is well aware that violence has to be
used at times when there is no other means, etc., and it says
this in black and white in the Lightfoot report. And; one
interesting thing that happened though, is one of the comments
made by [redacted] when speaking, was that he began referring
to the Dedwiler case of about a year ago when a police officer
by the name of [redacted], I believe, there was an inquest in terms
of if [redacted] was justified in killing DEDWILER or not, and I
believe the inquest turned up that he was, and if you will
recall, there was a number of days of big activity at City
Hall, a lot of Negroes demonstrating, etc. Well, [redacted]

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made the statement and I quote, "When DEDWILER was shot, and if [] wasn't indicted, then [] should have turned up dead. I would put that in the framework of self defense, and in the future when a black man gets shot by a cop, then two cops should turn up dead." What I just said was an exact quote of what [] mentioned. He felt that this was self defense and organizations should be held in the black community to carry out this sort of thing. There was some differences in terms of KENDER and in terms of [] where they would agree that if one black man and one cop was killed, it would be self defense; but, to kill two cops would be terrorism. They didn't think terrorism was appropriate at the present. But on the whole, this is what they felt and the people in the room weren't about to say anything against them. So, this kind of characterised the discussion. The only people that brought anything to it were black individuals. The white people in the party had nothing to do with what's going on. The party's line has become much more militant, and too, more in accordance with some of the black comrades, but also the Black Movement as a whole.

One thing mentioned at this meeting was at the beginning of the meeting, DOROTHY HEALEY made an announcement that [] who is up in San Francisco now, is planning to go to Hanoi, and that they are trying to raise money for her and DOROTHY said she was going to take up a collection. So,

it is planned to have [] go to Hanoi shortly. I thought that was kind of interesting. Another point is that

[] who was thought to be up in San Francisco, is in Los Angeles. I saw her on the UCLA campus this week, so evidently she is back in town. This is [] 11/16/67.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-24346)

DATE: 12/28/67

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: YOUTH MATTERS
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP).
IS - C.

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Meeting Students Club, SCDCP, 11/27/67.	11/28/67	Writer	[redacted]

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: [redacted]

- 100-67224 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-63949 (ROBERT DUGGAN) (SI)
- 100-66473 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64508 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68735 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-63646 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-65200 [redacted]
- 100-65556 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-66771 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64507 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-23901 (EDUCATION)
- 100-66078 (CIRM)
- 100-69218 (YOUNG DEMOCRATS)
- 100-66291 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-32199 (COMINFIL UCLA)
- 100-23423 (POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
- 100-26044 (ORGANIZATION)
- 100-40441 (FLORENCE KUSHNER) (SI)
- 100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-58819 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-23755 (PAMPHLETS & PUBLICATIONS)
- 100-68270 [redacted] (SI)
- 157-1833 (BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE)

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100-66078-1392

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 28 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

RHB/djy
(25) *djy* Read by *[signature]*

LA 100-24346

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

On Monday, November 27, at the house of [redacted]
[redacted] which is located at [redacted] in
Los Angeles, [redacted] there was held a meeting of the
Student's Club of Southern California District Communist
Party. Members in attendance were as follows:

BOB DUGGAN, who has recently been elected as
head of the youth in the party.

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

The topics of discussion at the meeting were based
on an educational on Black liberation and the role of white
people in fighting for Black liberation in the United States.
[redacted] lead a general educational on the development of the
Black Freedom movement in the country in the last six or
seven years and how now the demands on the part of black
people to lead themselves and be in charge of Black
liberation movements, has put certain kinds of pressures on
white radicals because they really don't know quite what
their role is. This concept of white working in white
communities and black working in black communities and the
responsibility rests on each other, had been kind of understood
to be the situation. [redacted] pointed out that there are
some dangers in that, in the fact that whites still have

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responsibilities to black people in their liberation movement, etc.; but, on the other hand they have to be willing to meet black people in the sense to make up for the especial oppression that has been done to black people for the last three hundred years, and that special concessions have to be made to them and to their demands. There was some general discussion on this, but, on the whole most of the people were in agreement with [redacted]'s position.

[redacted] read a letter that she had received from a young lady who was running for presidency of the Bruen Young Democrats UCLA. The young lady had a very progressive program in the sense that she was for immediate withdrawal of United States troops, support of labor organizing on UCLA campus, and these sorts of things. [redacted], who works for, I believe, the loan office in the Administration Building of UCLA, had contacted [redacted] and wanted her to join the Young Democrats and work in there. [redacted] was undecided as to what she should do, so a discussion was had on whether or not she should join the Bruen Young Comrads, etc. It was felt by some of the people, mainly [redacted] and [redacted] that she should not because the Young Democrats are a part of the Democratic Party which is an institution which works for the stabilization of capital society and that fundamental change cannot come out of it, so a Communist should be in an organization that is potentially and revolutionary in character and that could make certain demands upon the system and they would revolutionize

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demands, and eventually lead to the break down of the system. There was disagreement on this by the part of the traditional party comrades namely [redacted], BOB DUGGAN, saying comrades should work in every organization conceivable. Generally, that was the extent of the situation. [redacted] has not, as yet, decided whether or not she will join the Bruen Young Democrats.

Some announcements were made in terms of an organization commission that has been formed by the committee to sort of re-organize the party and get it a little more efficient. Two youths have been appointed to that organization commission. They are [redacted] and [redacted]. Now, also, this is in response to some questions asked of me by the Bureau a while back as to questionnaires being circulated in the party, and a sort of registration business about membership. Well, something has happened which seems to indicate that this is going to be happening in a different kind of form. A form other than passing out questionnaires to party members. FLO RUSHNER evidently had a meeting with [redacted] where she told [redacted] that the party was being organized and they were trying to find out exactly who was working in what area, what kind of people they have, and what is their level of activity, etc. So evidently [redacted] went through a detailed explanation of what each club member is doing, what kind of job, or if he is a student, etc. This sort of registration information is being collected among the youths and FLO RUSHNER

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seems to be the one who is in charge of it. There seems to be some indication that [] might be back in town. I'm not sure of this as yet; but, in speaking of the proposed members of the new youth committee, BOB DUGGAN named a number of young comrades and one of them was []. So there is a possibility that [] might be back from Europe. I had thought he would not return until the Spring sometime, but he might be back now. Also, the organization commission is beginning to put out a monthly bulletin. The first one which is an interparty newsletter and circulation bulletin telling people what is happening in the party and some short articles etc. The first issue is supposedly ready. [] and [] are the main ones responsible for putting this out. Also attached to this report is a mimeograph copy of an article written by Lenin in 1906 on guerilla warfare. This article was reprinted by the party. [] did the typing and [] who is not in the party but close to the party, did the duplicating of it. This document was passed out at the recently held Black Youth Conference that was held last weekend. This Sunday, at 13719 Lemoli, near Crenshaw and 136th Street, there is going to be an All Youth Conference, where discussions of campus problems of the Black liberation movement and an election of the new youth committee will take place. This meeting is supposedly mandatory for all party youths...

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-1783)

DATE: 1/3/68

FROM: SA ROBERT H. CLAUDIUS

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE
OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS (LACDBR)
IS - C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	17th Annual Banquet of LACDBR, 12/9/67.	12/20/67	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

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CC: [REDACTED]

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|--------|-----------|------------------|------|
| 100-24642 | (REV STEPHEN FRITCHMAN) | (SI) | 100-56514 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-52679 | (BISHOP [REDACTED]) | | 100-17369 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-941 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-24502 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-40017 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-4486 | (DOROTHY HEALEY) | (SI) |
| 100-15362 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-35451 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-64170 | [REDACTED] | (RI-B) | 100-31728 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-31358 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-40912 | [REDACTED] | |
| 100-52571 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-31882 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-56057 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-42652 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-67803 | (KENDRA ALEXANDER) | (SI) | 100-39463 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-30439 | (BILL TAYLOR) | (SI) | 100-23660 | (ROSE CHERNIN) | (SI) |
| 100-30537 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-26103 | [REDACTED] | (SI) |
| 100-56623 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | 100-26088 | (BILL JAMES) | (SI) |
| 100-34107 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-56601 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-36871 | (NATHAN SHAPIRO) | (SI) | | | |
| 100-20663 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-56504 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-65117 | [REDACTED] | | | | |
| 100-31131 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-20264 | [REDACTED] | (RI-B) | | | |
| 100-22822 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |
| 100-56529 | [REDACTED] | (SI) | | | |

100-66178-1393

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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COPIES CONTINUED PAGE 2
RHC/djy
(51) *dm* Read by *RHC*

LA 100-1783

COPIES CONTINUED

100-67042 [redacted]
100-23700 [redacted] (SI)
100-22689 [redacted] (SI)
100-56617 [redacted] (SI)
100-47779 [redacted] (SI)
100-47776 [redacted] (SI)
100-56255 [redacted] (SI)
100-28082 [redacted] (SI)
100-4663 (BEN DOBBS) (SI)
100-26091 [redacted] (SI)
100-43317 [redacted] (SI)
100-66078 (OIRM)
100-70668 (DEMONSTRATION AGAINST
DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY)

b6
b7c

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

MRS. [redacted]
[redacted]
MRS. [redacted]

December 11, 1967

The 17th Annual Testimonial Dinner of the L. A. Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights was held on Saturday, Dec. 9, 1967 at the Gold Room of the Ambassador Hotel 3400 Wilshire Blvd., L.A.

About 850 people were present and among them were: Rev. Stephen Frichtman, chairman; Bishop and Mrs. [redacted], Mr. & Mrs. [redacted] Mr. & Mrs. [redacted] and Kendra Alexander, Bill Taylor, [redacted] Nathan Shapiro, [redacted] [redacted] Dorothy Healey, [redacted] and mother, [redacted] Rose Chernin, [redacted] Bill James, [redacted] [redacted] Ben Dobbs, [redacted] Mrs. [redacted] (Pianist), [redacted]

Speeches were made by Rev. Frichtman in regard to the work the L. A. Committee was and had been doing; praised Raxx Bishop [redacted] and chaired the meeting. [redacted] spoke on black power and the young Negro militancy and asking for the support of the whites but not in Negro organizations--he asked that the Whites work in their own groups. Bishop [redacted] said a few words regarding the L. A. Committee and said he was 91 years old. [redacted] spoke on the untruths dished out by the politicians and those in power regarding all phases of government so that the voters were confused and did not know what they were voting for at election time, etc. [redacted] made the collection speech which netted over \$5600.00 between cash, checks and pledges.

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A young man whose name yours truly failed to get, spoke on the situation at State College. He said he was a member of the Young Communists and attended the college. He said they obtained a temporary victory at the college when they succeeded to throw Dow Chemicals off the campus. He said he believed the victory was only temporary but that the struggle will go on.

Entertainment by [redacted] and wife, and Mrs. [redacted].

Affair was over about 10:30 P. M.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-59133) DATE: 1/9/68
FROM: SA FRANK L. BELSANTE
SUBJECT: SOUTHSIDE SECTION
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Meeting, Centinela Club, Southside Section, SCDCP, on 12/12/67.	12/13/67	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

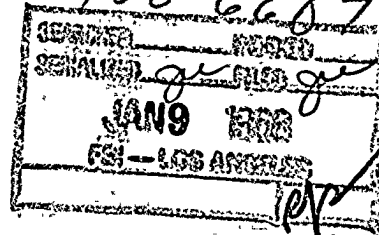
b6
b7C
b7D

CC: [REDACTED]

100-56963 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-56962 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-31744 (CLAUDE JOHNSON) (SI)
100-22612 [REDACTED] (SI)
~~100-66078~~ (CIRM)
97-16 ("PEOPLE'S WORLD")
100-21135 (BOB PIKE) (SI)
100-5283 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-22501 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-47746 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-64705 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-23769 [REDACTED] (SI)

FLB:LAL
(14)

Read by FLB



December 13, 1967

The Centinela Club, C.P., SCD, met at 7:30 P.M., Tuesday, December 12, 1967, at the home of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Redondo Beach. The meeting was chaired by CLAUDE JOHNSON.

First point on the agenda was the educational., led by [REDACTED] [REDACTED], on the new document from the National Committee, C.P., USA, on the question of the role of the white community in the struggle for Negro Rights, and the role of Afro-Americans in cultural life. Two hours of discussion followed the report, with [REDACTED] still clinging stubbornly to his position of self determination for the Negro people regardless of changes in the black belt. The discussion became very heated, but was not resolved.

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Following the educational, the exec. recommended that a change of pace be made at the next meeting, and the educational consist of the Indonesian C.P. appeal for peace in Southeast Asia. This was agreed to.

The club then heard a report on the Chairmen's Meeting (C.P., SCD) held last Thursday, by CLAUDE JOHNSON, supplemented by [REDACTED]

Following this, [REDACTED] outlined the proposal of the Southside Section Exec., C.P., SCD, to name the current P.W. Circulation Drive the "BOB PIKE MEMORIAL DRIVE" in honor of deceased BOB PIKE. This was accepted by the Centinela Club, which then voted a \$5.00 gift sub to be donated to El Camino College Library.

Discussion was held on the demonstration against Dow Chemical in Torrance on Sunday, Dec. 17th, and leaflets will be distributed at

El Camino College by [redacted] and [redacted]

Dues were collected by [redacted] and literature was sold by [redacted].

The club set its next meeting for Wednesday, Dec. 27th, at 7:30 P.M., at the home of [redacted], Redondo Beach; and its next exec. for Wednesday, Dec. 20th, at the [redacted] [redacted] Redondo Beach.

The meeting adjourned at 10:00 P.M. Present were the following:

[redacted]

CLAUDE JOHNSON

[redacted]

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O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66078)

DATE: 1/10/68

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS (CIRM)
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Negro Commission, SCDCP meeting on 12/6/67.	12/15/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"December 7, 1967
Los Angeles, Calif.

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"The Negro Commission met at the home of [redacted]
[redacted] Wednesday, Dec. 6th, 1967.

"Present were:

" [redacted]

[redacted] from the Hugh Gordon
Bookstore.

BILL TAYLOR

CC: [redacted]

- 100-20432 ([redacted] (SI))
- 100-26103 ([redacted] (SI))
- 100-60605 ([redacted] (SI))
- 100-56529 ([redacted] (SI))
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-23423 (POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
- 100-24346 (NATIONAL GROUP COMMISSIONS)

100-66078-1395

JAN 10 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

[Handwritten signature]

JET:LAL
(9) Read by [Handwritten signature]

LA 100-66078

"The order of business was to discuss some proposals made by BILL TAYLOR to be discussed at the next session of the District Committee meeting on the 16th of December.

"The proposals were more or less a continuation of the policies handed down by the National Negro Commission. That is it called for the increase in the number of Negro Senators & other governmental agencies around the country. It also called for greater concentration within the Black communities & better dialogue between Black people & Mexican Americans. It made mention of the 1968 elections but merely called for the defeat of President JOHNSON. Even though the Party is opposed to any type of boycott & also committed to a peace slate it did not at the same time make any reference to a choice of opposition to JOHNSON.

"[] said he could understand the Party's position to defeat JOHNSON but was somewhat at a loss to explain just what would happen if RONALD REAGAN or RICHARD NIXSON were the Republican nominations. He said that he believed the Party to be somewhat over peace conscious & not aware enough of the complicated domestic situation facing the nation. He said he was saying this because he felt that most likely the Republican nominee would also be a Hawk & would not only not pull out of Viet Nam but in his estimation might even increase the war efforts. [] argued that in his estimation President JOHNSON had done a more than adequate domestic job.

"The proposal also called for a Negro Caucus to be called around the first of the year.

"In a general discussion the question of Negro & white unity was again raised. Further on the proposals - [] also stressed the importance of calling together Negroes & Jewish people to discuss what he calls dangerous trends toward Anti-Semitism."

ACTION:

It is noted that [] (LNU) of the Hugh Gordon Bookstore is []

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LA 100-66078

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

O F F I C E M E M O R A N D U M UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-30439) DATE: 1/10/68
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: WILLIAM TAYLOR (SI)
SM-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	General info. re: WILLIAM TAYLOR, Vice Chairman, SCDCP, on 12/3/67.	12/15/67	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"December 4, 1967
Los Angeles, Calif.

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"At the Armenian Hall on Venice Blvd., Sunday, December 3rd, 1967 BILL TAYLOR & [REDACTED] spent some 30 minutes or so behind the youth booth discussing several things.

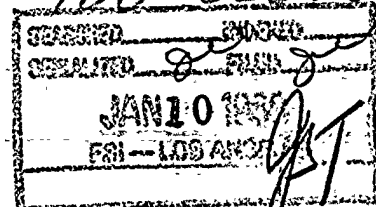
"[REDACTED] informed BILL TAYLOR that he was not aware of the total lack of awareness concerning problems facing the country in general & Negroes in particular. He had related to BILL some of his experiences he had at his last club meeting & how shocked he had been. [REDACTED] told BILL about an incident where several persons

CC: [REDACTED]

100-60605 [REDACTED] (SI)
~~100-66078~~ (CIRM)
100-24346 (YOUTH MATTERS)
100-56057 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-67803 (KENDRA ALEXANDER) (SI)
100-23660 (ROSE CHERNIN) (SI)
100-52822 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-24352 (FACTIONALISM)

JET:LAL
(10)

Read by Jet



LA 100-30439

"within the Party had admitted that they did not know whether or not it was correct or incorrect to give guns to Negroes, & also the admittance of the fact that several persons openly stated that they were not aware of what was going on in the Black Power struggle.

"[] said that he had been so intensely angered that he almost resigned from the Party on the spot. He said since though after a great deal of thought in the matter he was now prepared to make a fight to eliminate such utter waste. [] also expressed to BILL TAYLOR some feelings that the youth had against him. BILL said that he had been aware of this hostility & would raise this issue at the next District Board meeting.

"BILL related that many things were going on that he did not like but has said nothing about them. He mentioned as an example a recent situation where he had found out later that [] had been placed on the Party's payroll in a full time capacity. And he also cited similar situations concerning things that took place around certain issue involving Negroes & he had not been informed until long after the event. BILL further expressed some concern with a growing resentment around his leadership. He did not say so but one could only guess that BILL is afraid that [] is after his job.

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[] expressed much concern with the general situation in the Party & said he deemed it necessary for Negroes to get together to discuss some of these problems. He further expressed what he termed the danger of allowing [] & KINDRA to dominate the opinion section as applies to Negroes. He felt that there were others in the Party who were not in agreement with [] & KINDRA & felt that the time had come for this to be said.

"P.S. BILL TAYLOR said that he wanted to call a Negro Commission meeting and that he would set it for the convenience of []. The meeting was set for Wednesday, December 6th at the home

LA 100-30439

"of ROSE CHURIEN - [] was suppose_ to notify [] &
invite her to the meeting."

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ACTION:

This discussion took place at 1501 Venice Boulevard,
Los Angeles.

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the
above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has
been taken by the writer.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-62352)

DATE: 1/10/68

FROM: SA [redacted]

SUBJECT: EASTERN AREA COORDINATING COUNCIL
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS - C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Monterey Park Club meeting, *SCDCP, 12/11/67.	12/12/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

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All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

CC: [redacted]

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 100-50096 | [redacted] (SI) | 100-59218 | [redacted] (SI) |
| 100-50095 | [redacted] (SI) | 100-61725 | [redacted] (SI) |
| 100-56501 | (HARRY BENNETT) (SI) | 100-26044 | (ORGANIZATION) |
| 100-56591 | [redacted] (SI) | 100-4486 | (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI) |
| 100-24729 | [redacted] (SI) | 100-4663 | (BEN DOBBS) (SI) |
| 100-37917 | [redacted] (SI) | 100-68871 | [redacted] (RI-B) |
| 100-33712 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-33054 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-66097 | (FRED BLAIR) (SI) | | |
| 100-22742 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-65645 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-26147 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-19661 | [redacted] (SI) | | |
| 100-66078 | (CIRM) | | |
| 100-24346 | (YOUTH MATTERS) | | |

100-66078-1397

SEARCHED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials]
JAN 10 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

JCO/djy
(23) [initials] Read by [signature]

12/14/67

A meeting of the Monterey Park Club, SCDGP was held on December 11, 1967 at the residence of [redacted] and her [redacted] Monterey Park, California.

Those present at this meeting were [redacted] Harry Bennett, [redacted] Fred Blair, [redacted] and [redacted].

All present were urged to read the "Revolution in the Revolution" by [redacted] this book contains technical information regarding revolutions that have taken place in the South American countries.

[redacted] ^{PLAYED (A.D.)} said a tape of a speech which was given by Carmichael. In this speech Carmichael referred to President Johnson as a buffoon. He also stated that the Negro has to get where the white men are, and get the white man interested in Black Power...the tape was about 45 minutes in length.

Speaking of youth groups, [redacted] stated that he would like to take [redacted] Fred Blair, [redacted] and [redacted] and make a new CP club. He stated that the group they were active in before did little activity on the campuses. He cited [redacted] and stated that the CP had made him an Educational Director in the CP among youth groups, but it never worked. [redacted] has quit school, lost his job, lost his California drivers license, and he indicated that he is presently cheating on his unemployment pay, as he is working 6 hours a day. Mares indicated that there is much fighting among members of the youth groups. Mares indicated that neither Dot. Healey or Ben Dobbs is really interested in the Mexican-American youth, and both have "brushed him off" when he tried to talk to them.

[redacted] stated that she has a daughter, name not mentioned, 19 years of age who was in the peace movement, and then she began hanging around the Pirana (phon.) Club in south L.A. Now this daughter who hangs out with hippies, will not communicate with her parents. [redacted] stated that she was once a member of the Young Communist League and they had 140 members, 17 of whom were Negroes. When her father and mother wouldn't have Negroes in the house she left home.

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OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55455)

DATE: 1/11/68

FROM: SA [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: MORANDA SMITH SECTION (MSS)
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Meeting of West Adams Club, MSS, SCDCP, on 12/18/67.	12/21/67	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

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b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: [REDACTED]

- 100-32515 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-23660 (ROSE CHERNIN) (SI)
- 100-56560 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-56508 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-26651 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-26088 (BILL JAMES) (SI)
- 100-26103 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-63652 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-4663 (BEN DOBBS) (SI)
- 100-66078 (CIRM)
- 100-1783 (LACDBR)
- 100-23488 (FUNDS)
- 100-68294 (JAMES HAMILTON) (RI-B)
- 100-23901 (EDUCATION)
- 100-67257 (NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF L.A.)
- 100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-25739 (HUGH GORDON BOOK STORE)
- 97-12 (PROGRESSIVE BOOK STORE)
- 100-23423 (POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
- 100-68845 (SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR NEW POLITICS)
- 100-68533 (NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS)
- 100-68283 (DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK)

JWJ:LAL
(25) *[Signature]* Read by *[Signature]*

100-66078-138
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JAN 11 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES
[Signature]

LA 100-55455

"Los Angeles, Calif.
Dec. 19, 1967

"Monday, Dec. 18th a regular meeting of the West Adams Club of the Moranda Smith Section of the Communist Party of Southern California was held at ROSE CHERNIN's home located at 3048 Victoria, Los Angeles.

"There were five members and two visitors present:

"ROSE CHERNIN

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

BILL JAMES

[redacted] - visitor
[redacted] visitor

"[redacted] chaired the meeting. [redacted] asked for dues but was told to wait until next meeting. [redacted] told the members that it had been suggested by BILL TAYLOR that the club accept a pledge of \$5.00 for sustainers, monthly, but to try and get more from contacts and sympathizers if possible. ROSE gave a brief report on a District meeting held Dec. 16th. She said that BILL TAYLOR talked about the work that must be done in the Negro community. BEN DOBBS spoke about the organizing in the white community on Negro problems in order to bring about black & white unity. ROSE said that this meeting had been taped and the club agreed that they wanted to hear the tapes as ROSE's notes were very scetchy and in fact she said she had missed some of the discussion and proposals.

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"ROSE gave an evaluation of the banquet sponsored by the 'Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights.' She said that it was a success. There were about 900 people present, the appeal brought in about \$5,000.00 and that after expenses they netted over \$7,000.00.

"[redacted] reported that the Dec. 3rd party at ROSE's home brought in \$141.00 net. ROSE reminded [redacted] to contact JAMES HAMILTON

LA 100-55455

"and ask him if he would like to speak at the next party scheduled for Jan. 21st.

"ROSE announced that there was going to be some new classes started soon, with District leaders as teachers. The most important class being a revival of Marxism & Leninism ideology and how to apply it to current problems. She said that these classes might be held at the 'New Left School' on Arlington Ave.

"ROSE gave [] a list of names of new people who are to become members of the West Adams Club. ROSE told [] to tell [] (from Watts Club) that he is now a member of the West Adams Club & to invite him to the next meeting. [] was not very happy about this. He said that he didn't think it would work out having him in the club as he takes over. ROSE reminded [] that he was the chairman, therefore it was up to him to control the situation.

"ROSE asked the members to visit the Hugh Gordon Bookstore as it was well supplied with all the Negro literature in print. And to visit the Progressive Book Store for Marxist material.

"ROSE said there is to be a workshop Jan. 12th at the Hungarian Hall, topic 'Negro Affairs.' It was suggested that the Feb. Political Affairs Magazine be read before this meeting.

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"The members decided to read CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT's report and discuss it as soon as we have all the new members present at a meeting of the West Adams Club.

"ROSE also announced the New Politics Conference scheduled for the end of January with Dr. SPOCK as the kick-off speaker.

"[] told the members that the New Politics group were planning workshops to begin in February. Topics to be announced later.

LA 100-55455

ACTION:

On 12/21/67 [redacted] identified [redacted] as the person she identified as [redacted] in this report.

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All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55455)
FROM: SA [REDACTED]
SUBJECT: MORANDA SMITH SECTION (MSS)
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

DATE: 1/11/68

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Meeting, MSS, SCDCP, on 12/11/67.	12/19/67	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: [REDACTED]

- 100-56255 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-29774 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-26103 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-42050 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-41991 ([REDACTED]) (RI-B)
- 100-56508 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-23660 (ROSE CHERNIN) (SI)
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-56529 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-22689 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-56560 ([REDACTED]) (SI)
- 100-23488 (FUNDS)
- 100-66078 (GERM)
- 100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-26045 (DOMESTIC ADMINISTRATION ISSUES)
- 100-67303 (SSCDC)
- 100-24346 (YOUTH MATTERS)
- 100-15401 ("DAILY WORKER")
- 100-46044 ([REDACTED]) (SI)

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JWW:LAL
(21)

Read by *[Signature]*

100-66078-1399

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 11 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Signature]

LA 100-55455

"Los Angeles, Calif.
Dec. 12, 1967

"Monday, Dec. 11th a regular meeting of the Moranda Smith Section of the Communist Party of Southern California was held at the home of [redacted] located at [redacted], Los Angeles.

"There were eleven people present:

" [redacted]

ROSE CHERNIN
BILL TAYLOR

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[redacted]

"BILL TAYLOR chaired the meeting. BILL opened the meeting with a discussion on sustainer money to come from the clubs. He said that the District was in very shape financially. That each club should strive for a minimum of \$5.00 for sustainers, that this did not have to necessarily come from the members pockets, that they should contact sympathizers, to have 1 or 2 affairs to raise extra money for Communist Party. He said that the situation was so serious that if money doesn't come in that the Party might have to cut the salaries of Party functionaries and let some of them go, and this would hurt the Party as far as the contact between Los Angeles and New York.

"ROSE collected dues from the Org. Secty's. present.

"BILL announced that there would be a District Committee meeting Sat. Dec. 16th at the Hungarian Hall. This will be on Negro work, all Negroes are invited, plus the Moranda Smith Section members. He said that the Black Youth Club had an open meeting Dec. 8th and that on Dec. 16th there would be a report of this meeting and that some of the Negroes who attended this meeting are

LA 100-55455

"considered as possible recruits for the Communist Party.

"[] gave a brief report on the affair held at ROSE CHERNIN's Dec. 3rd. He said that it was a success, in that a couple of people said that they might come back to the Communist Party.

"[] said that money was still coming in from people that had not attended the party, that the profit at this point was about \$73.00. [] said that there were about 50 people present, ROSE said that he was wrong, that there were at least 90 people. In a conversation earlier [] said she thought there was about 60 people present.

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"ROSE passed out the 'initiative petitions,' and urged people to get friends to also take petitions, to get mass organizations to ask Peace Centers for petitions.

"[] announced that the South Side Defense Committee is giving a New Years Eve Party. BILL said that the Communist Party is giving its full support to this party, the main aim is to let people see how much support is being given to the South Side Defense Committee.

"BILL said that with all the restrictions being put on the college demonstrators there will be an even greater need for Defense Organizations.

"ROSE said she was going to San Francisco to help rebuild a Defense Organization.

"BILL discussed Communist Party recruiting. He said that the Moranda Smith Section has a quota of 25 recruits to be gotten in time for a convention to be held next year. He suggested that each club try to recruit at least 5 members.

"BILL is going to a conference in New York in January, 1968 and says that one of the important issues to be discussed is the Daily Worker Newspaper, the questions to be discussed are whether to make it a dailey paper or to decide on how many days,

LA 100-55455

"whether to change the name and what do people think of this paper.

"ROSE gave a report on the People's World Newspaper. She said that [redacted] told her that so far the Moranda Smith Section had not turned in any new subs. ROSE said this must be discussed in the clubs.

"Misc.

"When BILL TAYLOR talked about the open meeting of the Negro Club he said to [redacted] you should be able to help report on this meeting as you belong to this club. She said that she did not go to that meeting."

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ACTION:

[redacted] on 12/19/67 identified [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] as [redacted] as reported in attached report.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 1/31/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/15-19/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS.		REPORT MADE BY JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY	TYPED BY bj
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY dated 10/18/67, at San Francisco.

-P*-

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being submitted to Los Angeles and New York for information.

This report is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because the information furnished by confidential informants recorded herein could reasonably result in their identification and affect their future usefulness.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

SF T-1 is

File Where Located

Instant report

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b7D

Case has been: Pending over one year Yes No; Pending prosecution over six months Yes No

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
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1 - New York (100-153735) (Info.) (RM)		
3 - San Francisco (100-53902)		

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations
make for indexing where appropriate

SF 100-53902
JTQ:bj

INFORMANTS (Cont.)

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-2 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-3 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-5 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Used to document
ROSCOE PROCTOR

[REDACTED]

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SF T-6 is

[REDACTED]

Used to document
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

SF T-7 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-8 is

[REDACTED]

SF T-9 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF 100-53902

JTQ:bj

INFORMANTS (Cont.)

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-10 is

SF T-11 is

SF T-12 is

SF T-13 is

SF T-14 is

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Used to document
HERBERT APTHEKER

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
1 - NISO, 12ND (RM)
1 - OSI, 19th District (RM)

Report of:

JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY

Office:

SAN FRANCISCO

Date:

1/31/68

Field Office File #:

100-53902

Bureau File #:

100-442529

Title:

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

A Communist Party (CP) National Conference on Negro Work adopted all of the positive aspects of the black power movement as part of its policy in the field of Negro work. At this conference, Oakland, California was singled out as an area of concentration for the implementation of this program which is intended to put the concepts of black power into practice. In essence, it means that the CP will support the movement for the Negroes to have complete and entire control over every aspect of their communities. ROSCOE PROCTOR is now a paid CP organizer in the East Bay ghetto area and the CP is planning to establish a cultural center in the Fillmore area of San Francisco.

- P* -

DETAILS:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SF 100-8902
JTQ:bjj

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. CP, USA

1. Plans, Strategy Made At National Meetings

At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP held January 9, 1968, a four-page mimeographed document was furnished to those present. The document refers to the results of a National CP Conference on Negro Work held in New York City in late 1967. This document is set out in its entirety as follows:

"INITIAL APPROACH TOWARDS THE OAKLAND PROJECT

"At the recent National Conference on Negro Work, all of the positive aspects of the Black Power Movement were adopted as part of our policy in the field of Negro work.

"The main thrust of the Black movement today is that of developing movements within the Black community which will strengthen the control and leadership of the community itself over all institutions in the Black community which affects the lives daily of the people residing in the ghetto.

"This conference discussed and rejected the concept of guerilla warfare in urban areas, while re-emphasizing support for the position of self-defense; reaffirmed its position of fighting for the unfolding of a Black cultural revolution and cultural identity; Black leadership of the movement; independent political action with candidates from the ghetto more responsible to the community itself; voter support for the Black caucus movements and the

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JTQ:bj

Chicago formula for Black-white unity; rejected tokenism and assimilation as viable forms for integration today; recognized the strong current towards national identity and nationhood on the part of Black militants and support the idea of separate autonomous government on the part of the Negro people, if that is the overwhelming desire when conditions are favorable for the implementation for such rights of self-determination.

"Racism and white chauvinism was singled out as the main obstacle to be overcome in the struggle for Negro rights and Negro-white unity. The main report, delivered by comrade Claude, will be made available in pamphlet form to all party clubs and to the public at-large in the very near future. The following remarks is an effort to implement the content of that report at the local level in our District:

"Based on the discussions in the District staff and committee, and in the Oakland caucus, it has been agreed that the city of Oakland would be singled out as an area of concentration for the implementation of this program. If the Party can successfully project and implement a program which puts the concepts of Black Power into practice, it will make a major contribution to the Black movement nationally, as the main weakness of the Black Power movement up to this point is, its emphasis on slogan and rhetoric, rather than programs which logically flow from such concepts.

"Why was Oakland chosen as a concentration? Oakland has the largest, most compact, least

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JTQ:bj

politically represented in government, and most oppressed community in our District. The Alameda County Negro population has grown faster than the state as a whole, and has the largest proportion of Negro people than any county in the state. Alameda County's Negro population quadrupled between 1940 and 1960. From 1960 to 1965 Oakland experienced a net loss of 30,000 whites and a net gain of 30,000 Negroes. Negroes now account for more than 1/3 of Oakland's total population, more than 1/2 of its primary school population, and large numbers of its low skilled minority group persons are without work. Between 1958 and 1966, 35 companies employing more than 100 persons each, moved out of Oakland, taking with them a total of 10,747 jobs; only 12 new companies with more than 100 employees. Firms which are predominantly service companies, requiring different skills, moved into Oakland. One third of the companies which moved out located in southern Alameda County where it was impossible for most Negroes to follow the jobs because of lack of low cost housing and housing discrimination in that area.

"Oakland unemployment rates in poverty target areas officially are above 13% among adults, and about 25% among minority youth.

"1/5 of all people living in Oakland are poor. 2/5 of Oakland's poor are children; 25% are 65 years or over. Large families are disproportionately represented among the poor, as well as families with female heads. The poor of Oakland in large numbers are going without many of the basic necessities of life. Medical care, decent housing, proper diet, utilities, etc.

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JTQ:bj

"Oakland's anti-poverty program and efforts do not meet the needs of the poor. The poverty target areas in Oakland are predominantly minority group members - 81%; two thirds of which are Negro - 63%. Of Oakland's 7,500 Spanish speaking families, 1400 are poor. Oakland needs at least 10,000 units of public housing. Over 15,000 families of Oakland pay more than 35% of their total income for rent.

"The high rate of unemployment applies about equally to whites and blacks in the target areas, although the poor of the non-target areas are predominantly white.

"Therefore, we feel the need to project a two-pronged program for Oakland. One for the Black community, which Black people can see themselves carrying out with their own resources, within their own community and, two, a coalition program. One which can unite the ghetto and the white working class and the rest of the community. The project in the Black community should also embrace the Mexican American community.

"The concentration plan for Oakland calls for concentration upon the working class poor as a core group to move the organized sector of the working class, as well as the rest of the progressive liberal, peace forces. Because of the high level of Black consciousness and low level of organization and movement in the white community, we believe at this point, that separate organizing centers are needed. But that methods should be worked out for joint coordination of the work that is being carried out in both the Black and the white community.

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JTQ:bj

"In order to develop program for each of the communities within the framework of a political program for the city as a whole, an elaborate research committee capable of acquiring a complete knowledge of the social problems and the political and social power structure will be needed.

"Answers to the following 5 categories of questions will be needed almost immediately:

"I. Structure of urban government.

"A. Council, mayor and city manager structure.

"B. Composition and powers of boards, commissions, authorities, etc.

"C. Employees of the city and county, patronage and civil service practices and policies.

"II. Relation of City to county in powers and practices.

"A. City role in state and federal programs.

"B. City business practice, city contracts.

"C. City charter structure of county government as it affects city services.

"1. Hospitals and public health.

"2. Police, sheriff, jails, juvenile halls.

"3. Street cleaning and maintenance, garbage collection.

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"4. Parks, recreation facilities,
and libraries.

"5. Services for the elderly.

"III. Population structure

"A. Density, ethnic and racial
distribution.

"B. Income distribution.

"C. Voting patterns.

"D. Home ownership, distribution
of property ownership, including
absentee ownership of both comm-
ercial and residential properties.

"E. Social clubs, churches, and other
people's organizations.

"IV. Economic control.

"A. Major industries, leading corp-
orations, banks, insurance com-
panies, real estate firms,
utilities.

"B. Labor movement.

"C. Role of Emeryville and Piedmont
tax structure.

"D. Tax subsidies, who benefits, who
suffers through urban renewal,
BART, other such major changes.

"V. Miscellaneous

"A. Who is on the draft board, grand
juries, and who picks them.

"B. Court structure, especially juvenile
courts.

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JTQ:bj

"C. Relation of the schools, especially treatment of kids to courts, to county, to cops, to public health, etc.

"While we do not intend here to blue print a program in detail, we do feel the need to project certain ideas.

"GUIDELINES FOR THE OAKLAND PROJECT

"One, it must be based on program which speaks directly to those problems which threaten both the black and white communities and the solution must be far-reaching enough that they offer some qualitative improvement and not merely paliative measures.

"That we formulate demands not on the basis of what it is felt that the power structure is willing to grant, but on the basis of what the needs of the community are.

- "1. Work to establish the principle (with provisions for enforcement) that the government is responsible to provide work at union wages for all who cannot find work in private industry.
- "2. Reject the concept that unless human beings are tailored to technological needs that they must be dumped on the scrap heap. While supporting programs for vocational training with adequate compensation during the period of training, that we also insist that work opportunities be tailored to meet human needs. That is, that

SF 100-53902

JTQ:bj

jobs be provided to employ the skills and capacities (limited as they may be) of all those seeking work. (Ghetto needs for homes, schools, hospitals and other public facilities are so enormous that any appreciable effort to meet them can create the conditions for fulfilling such demands.)

- "3. Begin to boldly project the notion that this system is not sacred, that it must begin to meet the needs of the people or the people have every right to modify or change the system.

"Since one of the principal thrusts of the Black Freedom Movement is for community control over the institutions that most immediately affect the daily lives of Black people, the program must be one which unites and advances the needs of both black and white, but puts forth in a form which permits separate special demands for the black community:

"Finally, the program must be realistic in the sense that it inspires people to action, as distinct from "pie in the sky" proposals which sound good, but do not inspire any feelings that it is worth while fighting for.

"Such a program must move both in the direction of challenging the local power structure for political control, and in the direction of gaining economic and political power for the people which run counter to the system.

SF 100-53902

JTQ:bj

"What type of community organizing do we envision?"

"Grass roots, person to person, door to door organizing around issues affecting total community; structured around block organizations, precinct, mass organization (city, councilmatic, AD, CD basis).

"Need to train and orient organizers"

"Recruitment and selection of forces to be part of organizing effort, both in black and white and Mexican American community - selected from our own forces, new politics forces, peace and freedom forces, Black power activists, trade unionists, and people already involved in the community.

"Three areas for training community organizers in the school."

"1. General political orientation dealing with Marxist understanding of why people are poor, capitalism, imperialism, and wars of aggression; national and white chauvinism, black history of world movements, state and revolution, relationship of reforms and revolutions, etc.

"2. Political orientation relating to city of Oakland, based on public research sources by committee (related to general political orientation). Clarify problems of poor, ghetto housing, jobs, health, police oppression, welfare, day care centers, unemployment, etc.

SF 100-53902
JTQ:bj

"3. Community organizing

"While working with and strengthening existing community organizations, and perhaps building new ones which will be single issue oriented, the outlook of the trained organizer should encompass an overview of the total problems and goals.

"PRELIMINARY STEPS TO TRAINING AND PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

- "1. Political outlines for organizers and training schools.
- "2. Facilities for project in Oakland; classrooms, books, maps, charts, graphs, etc.
- "3. Need to find and develop teachers.
- "4. Build toward summer camp for training of youth.
- "5. Need to develop approach towards moving organized labor (caucusses in some unions) organization of unemployed and under-employed of working class poor. Domestic workers, hospital workers, build unions among the working poor as well as among welfare and public assistance poor.

"While research and training schools are being completed, we must also give attention to building a defense committee.

- "2. Support for Black peace and freedom - type candidates in the 7th CD.
- "3. Support for charter change in Oakland.

SF 100-53902
JTQ:bj

"4. Our role in finals elections for 1968.

"5. Reparations suit for Black people.

"PRIORITIES.

"1. Research

"2. Facilities for org. school

"3. Recruiting of organizers; black,
white, Mexican-American

"4. Political outlines for organizers
training school."

SF T-1, 1/16/68

"2. Plans Made at District and Lower Level Meetings

At a meeting of the East Bay Industrial Club of the CP held September 20, 1967, copies of the resolutions passed at the recent Alameda County CP Convention were distributed. Some of the resolutions are set out briefly as follows:

"1. Since Black organizations have been in the forefront of opposition to the Vietnam war, the Party must assume the responsibility of developing the growing alliance between the peace and black liberation movements on the basis of relating the domestic demands of the freedom forces to the foreign policy of the administration.

"2. We support the actions on the part of the Black community to reclaim its heritage, further develop its own cultural cohesion, and claim political control of its community.

SF 100-53902
JTQ:bja

- "3. We are committed to struggle for Negro-white unity on the basis of a program of mutual self-interest.
- "4. We call for full support for the decision for building a black book store and cultural center in the East Bay ghetto area."

SF T-2, 10/4/67.

The same copies of these resolutions were passed out at a meeting of the CP Chairmen held September 17, 1967 at 2224 Roosevelt Street, Berkeley, California.

SF T-3, 9/26/67.

A meeting of the CP Black Caucus was held at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR, 1919 Oregon Street, Berkeley, California on September 24, 1967. The first item discussed was the setting up of a black congress which would include all black organizations. It was agreed that since all black organizations would not willingly work together, it was felt that they could agree on one issue on which all could work together as a starting point.

Another item discussed was the establishment of a Black Party caucus within the black ghettos. They felt that ROSCOE PROCTOR would be most effective in this work.

PROCTOR stated that over 300 Negroes left the Party in the last 15 years and that most of them are still around. He said they will be contacted to recruit them back into the Party.

SF T-4, 9/27/67.

ROSCOE PROCTOR was elected Chairman of the Northern California District CP (NCD CP) Negro Commission at a

SF 100-53902

JTQ:bj

meeting of the District
Committee held May 13, 1967.

SF T-5, 5/16/67.

On October 1, 1967, there was a meeting of the NCD CP with the Expanded Negro Commission of the CP at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, California. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the work of the CP with the Negroes in the ghettos as now is the time for the CP to make inroads among the Negroes. One of the CP members present mentioned that he is holding classes among black youth.

The CP is considering what it can do toward the black nationalist groups and wondering how it can approach this situation to plant a Marxist seed. Also considered was how the CP can get black labor to work in the ghettos to further the CP cause.

It was pointed out that the NCD CP was planning to submit suggestions to the National Committee of the CP for a national organization that will be developed for the Party in its work among the Negroes.

SF T-4, 10/2/67

Additional information regarding this same meeting reflects that ROSCOE PROCTOR read a letter from CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT asking the Party here to discuss and put on paper their thoughts regarding the following:

1. The new method of struggle by the Negroes.
2. How should the CP organize or join in the uprisings in the ghetto?
3. The changes taking place in the ghettos.
4. Is there or is there not a revolution going on?

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PROCTOR stated that the National Committee in New York would like our ideas on these problems and he thought that our conclusions should be personally delivered to the National Committee.

SF T-5, 10/2/67.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs of the CP, USA.

SF T-6, 7/18/67.

A CP Negro Subcommittee meeting was held October 4, 1967 at 2602 Page Street, San Francisco, to discuss the following questions:

1. What is the CP attitude toward the uprisings in the ghetto areas?
2. What is the CP attitude toward organizing the uprisings in the ghettos?
3. How should the CP deal with the present uprisings in the ghettos?
4. What are the different forms of struggle in the black movement?

At this meeting, ROSCOE PROCTOR said he is going to New York City on October 9, 1967 where he will attend a national CP meeting regarding the Negro problem in the United States.

SF T-4, 10/9/67.

At a meeting of the NCD CP held November 11, 1967 at 942 Market Street, San Francisco, California, ROSCOE PROCTOR gave a report on a recent National Negro Conference that he attended in New York City. He stated that the CP

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is now on record as being in full support of all the positive features of Black Nationalism, including the idea of a Black Republic. He stated that the CP now accepts as legitimate the term "Black People" as it relates to the Afro-Americans and that we support the rights of the Negro people to overthrow this system by force at the proper time, but that we could not agree that guerrilla warfare in the cities is tactically correct at this time. He stated that burning and looting is not a part of our policy but we could not be critical of the Negro people for conducting their fight in any way they see fit.

He stated that we must have an internal look at ourselves and our Party to see why we are not recruiting the young black militants into the Party.

PROCTOR made a proposal which was accepted that Oakland be singled out as the city for us to concentrate on to try and implement the concept of black power and put it into practice.

We must formulate demands according to the needs of the community and not just demand what we think the establishment will give. We must fight for black community control over its police, schools, etc. We must advocate the takeover of slum lords' property and set up tenant owned co-ops. We must advocate Government grants to the Negro people to recompense for 300 years of slavery. We must build support for a black candidate in the 7th Congressional District, build a Defense Committee for jailed civil rights leaders and for Negroes who refused to be drafted into the military. We must have an immediate organization and we must build a long-range program in order to be effective in this work.

SF T-7, 11/28/67,
SF T-8, 11/20/67,
SF T-5, 11/17/67.

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ROSCOE PROCTOR has been hired as the new Negro Organizer in the East Bay ghetto area and will be paid \$100 monthly for this work by the CP.

SF T-9, 10/6/67.

The Sunset Club of the CP met on October 3, 1967 at 241 Frederick Street, San Francisco, California. At this meeting each Party member was urged to give a day's pay to sustain the Negro organizer in the ghetto. This organizer is ROSCOE PROCTOR who was said to have recruited two Negroes in the CP so far.

SF T-10, 10/11/67.

At a meeting of the East Bay CP Industrial Club held at 2716-77th Avenue, Oakland, California on October 4, 1967, it was announced that everyone present is supposed to give a day's pay toward paying the expense of a CP organizer and cultural center in the East Bay ghetto area.

SF T-2, 10/17/67.

On October 19, 1967, the second meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club, CP of Alameda County, was held at 1627 Woolsey Street, Berkeley, California. ROSCOE PROCTOR was assigned to direct this club and he arranged to get a Negro member of the Fillmore Club transferred to this club to help out this program. At this meeting they decided to have a social on November 3, 1967 in an attempt to interest outsiders in their club. They were to solicit the immediate neighborhood on Saturday, October 21, 1967 and each solicitor would have 35 copies of the "People's World" (PW) and subscription cards. It was decided that the club must reach the people by sticking to the CP program without waving the Red flag in their faces.

SF T-8, 10/30/67.

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The PW is a west coast communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco.

On November 14, 1967, there was a meeting of the Club Chairmen and the County Committee of the San Francisco CP. At this meeting it was stated that the cultural center set up in the East Bay along with the Negro organizer has helped the Party tremendously, both financially and in recruiting.

SF T-9, 11/15/67.

On October 2, 1967, a CP meeting was held at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, California, for the purpose of discussing Negro problems. One of the problems discussed was that of how the CP can get help to put a CP Negro organizer in the Fillmore community. ROSCOE PROCTOR stated that every effort must be made to raise the money for the project as it is considered most important by the CP.

SF T-5, 10/18/67.

On instructions from ROSCOE PROCTOR, two CP members met on October 3, 1967, to discuss ways and means of raising funds to support a Negro organizer and a cultural center in the Fillmore area. They felt that their activity should be disguised as a community project such as anti-war activity with local leaders in charge and one which would not appear to be presented as a CP dominated or controlled project. The local leader would use his influence on the people to raise the required money.

SF T-5, 10/18/67.

At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Committee held November 14, 1967 at 700 Kansas Street, San Francisco, California, it was stated that the San Francisco

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members are expected to raise \$6,000 this year to be spent principally on a Negro organizer, book store, and cultural center in the Fillmore area.

SF T-5, 11/17/67.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

No information developed.

III. COMMUNIST PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

At a meeting of the San Mateo CP Club held September 22, 1967 at 72 Lausanne Avenue, Daly City, California, one of the members was selling "bricks" for \$1.00 each for the purpose of raising money for the building of the Alliance for Black Unity (ABU) Cultural Center and book store in Berkeley, California.

SF T-11, 9/27/67.

The "Sun Reporter", a San Francisco weekly Negro newspaper with broad circulation, carried an article entitled, "What is ABU?"

"ABU--Alliance for Black Unity--is a black peoples' membership organization. Its aim is to help protect and advance the interest of the black communities by opposing the racist war in Vietnam and all other wars of aggression, by eliminating economic exploitation and political injustice.

"ABU stands for Black power, self defense, knowledge of black history, black unity, independent political action, and the right of black people to determine their own destiny through the leadership and control of their own communities."

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At a meeting of the CP Black Caucus held at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR on September 24, 1967, a young Negro present stated that he is trying to set up ABU groups around the Bay Area and is interested in contacting Negroes on the high school level for this purpose. He indicated that he is going to help ROSCOE PROCTOR seek out people for this group.

SF T-4, 9/27/67.

At a meeting of the ABU which was held on October 9, 1967 at the residence of ROSCOE PROCTOR, preparations were made for the coming of HERBERT APTHEKER who was giving a series of lectures sponsored by this group. PROCTOR has been the organizer of the ABU since its inception and though his current position in the organization has not been defined, the current officers look to him for advice when experiencing any difficulties in connection with their responsibilities or matters of policy.

SF T-12, 10/17/67.

HERBERT APTHEKER is the Director of the American Institute of Marxist Studies and is a current member of the CP, USA.

SF T-13, 3/29/67.

On October 11, 1967, a leaflet was furnished which reported that the ABU "presents Dr. HERBERT APTHEKER, prominent theoretician and Negro history authority" as the instructor in various aspects of Marxism from October 12 to October 15, 1967, at the Washington School, 2300 Grove, Berkeley, California.

SF T-9, 10/11/67.

A meeting of the Fillmore CP Club was held October 12, 1967 at 608-2nd Avenue, San Francisco, California. At

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this meeting one of the members discussed the peace movement. She stated that she has been a leading factor in the Peace Center at 55 Colton Street, San Francisco, California.

SF T-14, 10/27/67.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

SF 100-53902

San Francisco, California
January 31, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY dated and captioned as above at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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	Date(s) of activity
Brief description of activity or material CP Literature	File where original is located if not attached 100-66078

Remarks: 1. Memorandum on Negro History Month, 2/68
2. "BLACK POWER AND LIBERTATION: A Communist View" by C. Lightfoot.

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b7D

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SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
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FEB 5 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

WHEREAS, It is especially significant, in the present state of world affairs, that the commendable role played by Negro Americans in the historic and democratic struggles of our country during war and peace be widely observed to help strengthen the unity of the American people in their demands for continued and lasting world peace, and

WHEREAS, Observance of Negro History Week at this time will provide further opportunity to dedicate ourselves to the elimination of certain prejudices and discriminatory practices in our country which serve to limit the fullest participation of Negro Americans and other minority groups in the economic, political, cultural and social life of America, thereby endangering the peace of the world,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT

RESOLVED, That the Council of the City of New York requests the Mayor to officially proclaim the week of February 6th through February 13th as Negro History Week in the City of New York, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Council of the City of New York requests the Mayor to call upon the schools, libraries and other public bodies and institutions to conduct proper observances of Negro History Week through such means as class-room lectures, displays, celebrations or other public functions.

ADOPTED - January 11, 1949.

* * *

Tasks for 1968

Recent years have witnessed great advances in the struggle for national liberation, particularly in Africa. And in this country they have witnessed a tremendous upsurge of the struggle for Negro liberation. In the light of these developments the celebration of Negro History Month and its utilization as an instrument in the struggle takes on greater significance than ever before, especially in the fight to involve white Americans.

February 1968 should become the occasion to promote observance of Negro History Month by schools and churches, by trade unions and other organizations. It should become the occasion for the organization of lectures, displays, affairs and other activities in all communities. All Party organizations should give serious attention to the stimulation of the widest variety of public activities.

Within the Party, discussions should be organized in club meetings and other gatherings on Negro history and on the Negro freedom struggle today. Special attention should be given to the following:

MEMORANDUM

on

NEGRO HISTORY MONTH

February 1968

Issued by National Education Department, CPUSA

Introduction

In 1926 the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, headed by the eminent scholar Dr. Carter G. Woodson, initiated the observance in the month of February of Negro History Week. This year it will be celebrated from February 11 through February 17. Over the years, Negro History Week has become an important American institution and a highlight in the struggle for Negro freedom. And with this the practice has grown of extending the observance to the entire month of February as Negro History Month.

In past years the Communist Party has been in the forefront of the fight to secure the widest and most meaningful celebration of Negro History Week and Negro History Month. A notable case in point was the initiative of Benjamin J. Davis during the years 1943-1949 in which he served as a Communist member of the New York City Council. Each year the Council adopted a resolution introduced by Comrade Davis, requesting the Mayor to proclaim Negro History Week officially and call for its proper observance. The following is the text of the resolution adopted in 1949:

RESOLUTION

on

REQUESTING MAYOR TO PROCLAIM WEEK OF
FEBRUARY 6th TO 15th AS NEGRO HISTORY WEEK,
AND TO CALL UPON SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES AND
OTHER INSTITUTIONS TO EFFECT PROPER OBSERV-
ANCE THEREOF.

January 11, 1949

By Mr. Davis -

WHEREAS, The week of February 6th through 13th has been designated as Negro History Week by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and

WHEREAS, Negro History Week has been officially observed annually throughout the nation since 1926 as a recognition of the many outstanding contributions made by Negro Americans to the cultural, scientific, educational, political and industrial life of the nation, and

New Outlook Pamphlets: (cont'd)

William L. Patterson, <u>Ben Davis: Crusader for</u> <u>Negro Freedom and Socialism</u>	.50
James E. Jackson, <u>The Meaning of Black Power</u>	.15
Gus Hall, <u>Negro Freedom Is in the Interest of</u> <u>EVERY American</u>	.10

By Herbert Aptheker

<u>Negro History: Its Lessons for Our Time</u> (New Century)	.15
<u>Towards Negro Freedom</u> (International) special	.50
<u>Essays in the History of the American Negro</u> (International)	1.65
<u>American Negro Slave Revolts</u> (International)	2.25
<u>A Documentary History of the Negro People in the</u> <u>United States</u> (International) 2 volumes, each	2.25
<u>Nat Turner's Slave Rebellion</u> (Humanities Press)	1.95

International Books:

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, <u>The Civil War in the</u> <u>United States</u>	1.95
James S. Allen, <u>Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy</u>	1.85
Hugh Mulzac, <u>A Star to Steer By</u>	1.85
Philip S. Foner, ed., <u>The Life and Writings of</u> <u>Frederick Douglass</u> Four Volumes, boxed	12.50
Earl Conrad, <u>Harriet Tubman: Negro Soldier and</u> <u>Abolitionist</u>	.50
Jack Woddis, <u>Introduction to Neo-Colonialism</u>	1.25

1. Study and discussion of Claude Lightfoot's report to the National Party Conference of October 14-15: Black Power and Liberation. A question outline for such study and discussion accompanies this memorandum. These should include discussions devoted especially to the fight against racism as an alien ideology and on the development of struggle among white Americans.
2. Study and discussion of the February issue of Political Affairs, a special 96-page issue devoted entirely to additional material from the Party Conference and to other articles on Negro history and Negro liberation.
3. Plans for the widest distribution of both the Lightfoot report and the February Political Affairs. Also, plans for the distribution of the newly-published Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois.
4. Public forums during February to be devoted to the subject of Black Power and Negro Liberation.
5. Organization of city-wide or district-wide ideological conferences on Negro liberation.
6. Exhibits on the role of the Communist Party in the Negro liberation struggle in progressive bookshops and other suitable locations.

L I T E R A T U R E

Claude Lightfoot,
BLACK POWER AND
LIBERATION: A
COMMUNIST VIEW
(New Outlook) .50
A pamphlet to be read,
studied and widely dis-
tributed.

Just issued by International Publishers:
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF W.E.B. DU FOIS,
edited by Herbert Aptheker.
A history of nearly a century of struggle
of the Negro people by one of its great
leaders. Written by Dr. Du Bois in his
90th year in Ghana, the manuscript was
saved after the military coup there.
An important addition to your library...
An ideal gift... \$10.00

New Outlook Pamphlets:

Henry Winston, Negro-White Unity .25
Henry Winston, New Colonialism: U.S. Style .25

By W.E.B. Du Bois

<u>The Black Flame</u> (New Century)	3 volumes	10.00
<u>John Brown</u> (International)		2.25
<u>A.B.C. of Color</u> (Seven Seas)		1.00
<u>The World and Africa</u> (International)		2.45

Other Books:

Langston Hughes, <u>The Big Sea</u> (Hill and Wang)	1.95
Langston Hughes, <u>The Panther and the Lash:</u> <u>Poems of our Time</u> (Knopf)	1.95
Arna Bontemps, ed., <u>American Negro Poetry</u> (Hill and Wang)	1.45
Lerone Bennett, Jr. <u>Before the Mayflower</u> (Penguin)	2.45

Magazines:

POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the Theoretical Journal of the CPUSA, 50¢ a copy, \$5.00 a year. Read the special enlarged February issue devoted entirely to the Negro liberation struggle.

FREEDOMWAYS, Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement, \$1.00 a copy, \$3.50 a year. Must reading for all Communists and progressives.

* * *

The above literature may be purchased at your local progressive bookshop or ordered from the publishers:

International Publishers
381 Park Avenue South
New York, N.Y. 10016

New Outlook Publishers
32 Union Square East
New York, N.Y. 10003

(New Century books and pamphlets may be obtained from New Outlook Publishers.)

* * *

OUTLINE FOR CLUB DISCUSSION

on

"BLACK POWER AND LIBERATION: A Communist View" by Claude Lightfoot

The club leadership should arrange that the pamphlet be purchased by every member in advance of the scheduled discussion. Every member should study the pamphlet and come prepared to answer the questions, participate in the discussion, raise points that need clarification, etc. For a fruitful discussion, it is essential that the participants relate their own experiences.

From the very beginning of the discussion, attention should be focused on the basic and most important points which in their totality encompass the Communist view on Black Power and Liberation so that the whole of the program of the Party is understood. For this we suggest the reading of the following paragraph as an introduction to the opening session:

"Comrade Lightfoot speaks of the unprecedented problems this nation of ours faces today; the growth of fascist danger, the germs of disunity when unity is the most urgent question, the need for a radical change, etc., to understand the reason for the growing crisis. The pamphlet poses six basic questions. These are: 1) the character of the present period; 2) what is new in racism; 3) the nature of the present wave of black nationalism; 4) the methods of struggle required for today; 5) an estimate of the Communist Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years in the light of today's requirements and tasks; 6) what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today."

The reading of this paragraph should be repeated at the opening of every session so that the participants see the interconnection of the above six questions even though the discussion will proceed on each question presented in this outline. The club should decide on the number of sessions to be devoted to the discussion.

* * *

Question I.

It is said that the present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence.

- a) Give examples of this turbulence and show the various strata of the American people involved in it.
- b) What is the significance of the merging efforts by the peace and civil rights forces? (Pp. 3-7)

Question II.

The pamphlet points to the danger of growing clashes and cleavages between forces that have much in common:

- a) What are these clashes and cleavages?
- b) Discuss the racist counter-offensive and its causes, the serious weaknesses in the labor movement which are an obstacle to black-white unity. What is your experience in this and how are you fighting to overcome racism? (Pp. 8-15)

Question III.

Is it true that racism is a major contributor to moods of black nationalism? What is the main content of nationalism today and its new features as compared with the previous period? Discuss the progressive and reactionary aspects of nationalism and the Party's position in relation to it. Be concrete in your examples. (Pp. 8-25)

Question IV.

What is the Party's estimate with regard to violent actions in the black ghettos by black people? What are the main problems to be solved in Negro and Puerto Rican communities, and what is the role of the white Communists? (Pp. 26-31)

Question V

Comrade Lightfoot says that the illumination of our tasks requires a review of our work in the last 10 years.

- a) Is it true that during this period we had a wrong line on the Negro question?
- b) What is the meaning of: "The Negro question is a national question"?
- c) Did our policy on this question manifest weaknesses and failures? Explain and prove your points. (Pp. 32-36)

Question VI.

What is the Party's view on integration and black power? Who is the main enemy of the black people and of the American working people? (Pp. 37-40)

Question VII.

Explain the meaning and the application of the Party's policy of black-white unity based on equality. What are your experiences? (pp. 41-43)

Question VIII.

The Party stresses the question of our work among the white workers in the unions and white communities to promote black-white unity based on self-interest. Explain this fully and give your experience.

Question IX.

How do we go about introducing a class content into the present wave of black nationalism, and what are the tasks of the white and black Communists? Be concrete. (Pp 29-32)

Question X.

How are we to build the Party among the Negro people, especially the young militant Negroes? Are there any obstacles that hinder this? Discuss fully and concretely and state how you and the club propose to do it. (Pp. 44-46)

* * * *

Suggested Additional Readings:

Political Affairs, February 1968

Henry Winston, Negro-White Unity

Speech by James Forman in The Worker, January 7, 1968

The Negro Question, Resolution of the 18th National Convention, CPUSA.

W.D.
1-27-68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES	DATE 2/1/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/26/68 - 2/5/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY [Redacted]	TYPED BY dmr
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

b6
b7C

REFERENCES: Report of SA [Redacted] dated 11/21/67.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego, New York and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters concerned in this report.

This report is classified confidential because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:	
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
APPROVED SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE						DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
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1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)						SERIALIZED 9		
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)						FILED 7		
1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)								
1 - San Diego (100-13295) (RM)								
1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM)								
③ Los Angeles (100-56078)								
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LA 100-66078

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<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
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LA T-2 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-3 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-4 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-5 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-6 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-7 [REDACTED]	(Chicago File) A [REDACTED]
LA T-8 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-9 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-10 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
LA T-11 [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

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SOURCE

LOCATION

LA T-12

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LA T-13

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LA T-14

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(San Diego File)

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LA T-15

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Orally to SA ALBERT N. CARLBLOM
1/4/68.

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LA T-16

[REDACTED]

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LA T-17

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LA T-18

[REDACTED]

Characterization of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] orally, to SA [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] on 2/2/68.

LA T-19

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: [Redacted]

Office: Los Angeles, California

Date: 2/7/68

b6
b7C

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: Strategy and tactics of the Southern California District
Communist Party (SCDCP) in racial matters set forth.

--P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

LA 100-66078

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II. COMMUNIST TACTICS	5

LA 100-66078

DETAILS:

Unless otherwise noted, all addresses mentioned in this report are in Los Angeles, California.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

LA T-4 (10/19/67)

This source advised that a meeting of the Aaron Johnson Club, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) was held on October 4, 1967 at 1808 Arapahoe. At this meeting, everyone present was asked to report what they thought should be done to advance the Communist Party (CP) in the Negro Freedom Movement.

LA T-1 (10/24/67)

LA T-7 (10/16, 19/67)

A meeting of the National Negro Commission, CPUSA, was held on October 14 and 15, 1967 at the Abbey Victoria Hotel, 7th Avenue and 51st Street, New York City. This meeting was called a Conference on the New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Rights. One of the points stressed at this meeting was the need in the CP for Negro and white unity. Another point stressed was that CP members should strive to do what they can to aid this unity.

LA 1-11 (10/27/67)

A meeting of the Silverlake Club, SCDCP, was held October 24, 1967 at 2116 Glendale Boulevard. At this meeting, Black Power was discussed and also how Negro-White unity could be achieved.

LA 100-66078

LA T-13 (11/13/67)
LA T-5 (11/3/67)
LA T-8 (11/13/67)

A meeting of the South Central Club, SCDCP was held November 1, 1967 at 1235 West 68th Street. It was mentioned at this meeting that the CP should recruit more Negroes. A Black Power discussion was also held.

LA T-13 (11/20/67)
LA T-2 (11/13/67)
LA T-3 (11/24/67)
LA T-4 (11/17/67)
LA T-5 (11/17/67)
LA T-6 (11/28/67)
LA T-8 (11/20/67)
LA T-15 (11/14/67)
LA T-18 (12/6/67)

A meeting of the District Committee, SCDCP, was held on November 12, 1967, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. BILL TAYLOR, Executive Vice Chairman, SCDCP, spoke and said that the only way to guarantee a forwarding motion for the Party (CP) is to develop a Negro-White unity.

LA T-5 (11/24/67)
LA T-15 (11/28/67)
LA T-17 (11/17/67)

A meeting of the Moranda Smith Section (MSS), SCDCP, was held on November 13, 1967 at 1309 South Hudson Street. At this meeting, it was mentioned that a district meeting of the SCDCP would be held on December 16, 1967 and that all people engaged in Negro work should attend. [REDACTED] a member of the SCDCP and a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, spoke at this meeting and mentioned that all the Negro CP members in her club belonged to other Negro movements, like

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LA 100-66078

the "Black Congress".

LA T-16 (11/17/67)

A meeting of the Peace Commission, SCDCP, was held on November 14, 1967, at 4947 Maplewood Avenue, Apartment 8. BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, spoke and stated that the new Peace Commission of the CP must also include Negro groups, Mexican-American, and Jewish groups.

LA T-6 (11/28/67)

A meeting of the Student's Group, SCDCP, was held November 27, 1967, at 3271 South Sepulveda, Apartment 2. At this meeting, a discussion was held concerning Black Liberation and the role of White people in fighting for Black Liberation in the U. S. It was pointed out that Whites still have responsibility to Black people in the Black People's Liberation Movement and that special concessions have to be made to the Blacks and to their demands.

LA T-3 (12/11/67)

A meeting of the Executive Board, SCDCP, was held on November 30, 1967 at 1529 High Point Street; DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the SCDCP, mentioned that [redacted] a member of the Executive Board, was not present at the Executive Board meeting because she was attending the Black Congress meeting. One of the Executive Board members mentioned that he had attended a meeting of "left youth", which was comprised of individuals from both the Mexican and Negro communities, in order to set up a plan for joining the Mexican and Negro communities.

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"Harambee", self-described as a bi-weekly newspaper published by the Black Congress, stated in its November 17, 1967 issue, "the Black Congress is a coalition of community organizations whose primary objective is to liberate black people from the shackles of racist oppression. This coalition includes groups of many and varied political persuasions."

LA 100-66078

LA T-19 (12/6/67)

A meeting of the San Fernando Valley Section, SCDCP, was held November 17, 1967, at 12220 De Houghne Street, North Hollywood, California. At this meeting, it was mentioned that Negro-White unity was needed for social progress and should be placed on the top of every CP agenda.

II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

LA T-2 (9/30/67)
LA T-3 (10/16/67)
LA T-6 (10/5/67)

A meeting of the District Committee, SCDCP, was held September 24, 1967 at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. At this meeting, [redacted] spoke. She stated that the CP should work fully with the Negro Black Power groups to give the Negro the ability to organize and present a "face of unity" and that is "the only way to wield influence".

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LA T-14 (10/16/67)

On October 10, 1967, BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, SCDCP, stated that the CP is interested in infiltrating Black race organizations.

LA T-5 (10/20/67)
LA T-8 (10/24/67)
LA T-10 (11/2/67)

A meeting of the South Central Club, MSS, SCDCP, was held October 18, 1967 at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. One of the members present suggested that the CP should start a drive to get the Negro people out and participating in the peace drive. Black Power was also discussed at this meeting.

LA 100-66078

LA T-9 (10/27/67)

A meeting sponsored by the New Left School (NLS) (see appendix), was held on October 22, 1967 at 4358 Melrose Avenue. At this meeting, it was mentioned that an extension class was being set up for the Watts area and that these classes would be private for Negro youth.

LA T-3 (11/24/67)

A meeting of the SCDCP staff and two members of the Mexican Commission, SCDCP, was held on November 2, 1967 at 4247 Woolwine Drive. DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman, SCDCP, spoke at the meeting concerning the tremendous gains which the Mexican community was making in relation to organization and stated that this was of great interest to the CP and a new program should be developed by CP to help unify the Mexican people.

LA T-12 (11/22/67)

Source advised that the Western Regional Black Youth Conference was to be held November 23, 1967 through November 25, 1967 in Los Angeles. Source stated that among others, WILLIAM C. TAYLOR, Executive Vice Chairman, SCDCP, would attend. This source further advised that several CP members in Los Angeles were furnishing housing for some of the delegates to the conference who came from out of town.

LA T-16 (12/4/67)

A meeting of the MSS, SCDCP, was held on November 27, 1967, at 3048 Victoria Avenue. It was mentioned that [redacted] would be placed in full-time work in the Negro community and that a young Mexican-American will go on full-time to work in the Mexican-American community for the purpose of getting new young people into the CP.

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LA 100-66078

LA T-18 on February 2, 1968, stated that [redacted]
[redacted] is a full-time employee of the SCDCP.

LA T-15 (1/4/68)

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Source advised that a new CP group called the Chad Lumumba Club had been formed and that [redacted] was named as [redacted] of this group. According to the source, the membership of the club is composed of individuals who are more extreme along racial lines. Source also advised that the CP does not maintain the usual discipline over this group. Source stated that the primary purpose of the new group was to obtain more recruits for the CP.

APPENDIX

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

In October, 1965, a source advised "The New Left School of Los Angeles" originated in the Education Commission of the Southern California District, Communist Party. [] originated the idea and more or less organized the school. As of October, 1965, approximately 100 persons were enrolled in the school. Source further advised that as of October, 1965, [] appeared to be one of those involved in the inner organization work of the school.

Source further advised as of July, 1965, [] was a member of the Education Commission, Southern California District, Communist Party.

A second source advised in September, 1965, [] was present as [] of a meeting of the Los Angeles Area Council, Du Bois Clubs of America, at 1733 West Temple Street, Los Angeles. At this meeting he stated he was not a member of the Communist Party (CP) because if he joined, his wife, [] who is not a citizen, could be deported. He also stated if he became a member, he would lose effectiveness in the community because many people look up to him as an independent radical. He stated he would join the CP if it were legal; and not under pressure by the Government.

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In May, 1965, a third source advised that [] commonly known as [] had been voted approval by the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP) to associate himself with "The New Left School of Los Angeles" as a representative of the Socialist Workers Party.

This source further advised in September, 1965, that [] commonly known as Theodore Edwards, was the organizer of the Los Angeles Local - Socialist Workers Party (LAL-SWP), and alternate member of the National Committee, SWP.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX CONTINUED

THE NEW LEFT SCHOOL OF LOS ANGELES

A fourth source advised on May 12, 1966, that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 24, 1967, a fifth source reported that The New Left School continues to operate at 1853 South Arlington Avenue, Los Angeles, California, and that [redacted] continues to be one of the driving forces in the operation of the school.

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APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
February 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA dated and captioned as above at Los Angeles.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Albany

DATE: March 11, 1968

YH
FROM : Director, FBI (61-3176)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE NATIONAL
ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF
COLORED PEOPLE.

Effective immediately, captioned case should be closed in those offices having pending cases. In the future Communist Infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should be handled in connection with your investigations regarding Communist Influence in Racial Matters and reported under appropriate caption in reports submitted in connection with this matter.

2 - All Offices

SU 100-5589 (NAACP)

100-66078-1425

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED <i>JK</i>	FILED <i>JK</i>
MAR 13 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

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pls handle in Unit not div -





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

March 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE DATE 04-12-2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTERS

On March 11, 1968, source one furnished a leaflet, a copy of which is attached, announcing The People's Trial to be held at South Park, 51st and Avalon on Sunday, March 17, 1968 at 3:00 p.m. under the auspices of The People's Tribunal Committee. The source advised this leaflet was composed by [redacted].

Source two advised that as of March 12, 1968, [redacted] was a member of the Southern California District Committee Communist Party (SCDCP).

Source one also advised that the leaflet was printed on March 11, 1968 in the offices of the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights (LACDBR) (see appendix). Formation of The People's Tribunal Committee was suggested by [redacted] at a meeting held at the home of Rose Chernin Kusnitz, 3048 Victoria Avenue, Los Angeles, during the latter part of February, 1968, which was attended by Brother [redacted] also known as [redacted], a militant Black Nationalist.

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Source three advised that as of March 12, 1968, Rose Chernin Kusnitz is a member of the SCDCP and Executive Director of the LACDBR.

12- Bureau (RM)
(1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)

1 - NIS, San Diego
1 - 115th MI, Pasadena
1 - OSI, Norton AFB
1 - Secret Service, LA
1 - USA, LA

10 - Los Angeles (157-NEW)
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - [redacted])
(1 - 100-23660) (ROSE KUSNITZ)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(1 - 100-56057) (r. ...)

(1 - 100-1783) (LACDBR)
(1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)
1 - 157-943
(1 - 157-1713) [redacted]

FGK:nmb
(25)

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100-66078-1451

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL
COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTERS

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of February 22, 1968, page 1A, was an article reporting that the "spectre of another Deadwyler case" hung over Los Angeles as the result of the fatal shooting of 18 year old Gregory Clark, 600 West 52nd Street, by the Los Angeles Police Department. Officers stated Clark was killed after he took away the service revolver of officer Sherwin Brown and shot him in the knee. One alleged witness stated this was not the case and Clark slipped as he was pulled from his car and fell, pulling one officer to the ground with him. The witness stated when Clark stood up the other officer shot him.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates'. The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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12

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organization * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERWIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182, on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58 and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report # 53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 5/16/67 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ANOTHER BROTHER KILLED.

FACTS ABOUT THE MURDER OF BROTHER GREGORY CLARKE SHOT BY A RACIST LOS ANGELES COP ON SUNDAY, FEB. 17, 1968. EIGHTEEN YEAR-OLD GREGORY WITH TWO FRIENDS WAS STOPPED BY THE COPS AT VINEYALL AND WASHINGTON BLVD. BECAUSE - DIG THIS: "THEY DIDN'T FIT THE CAR."

BLACK PEOPLE, MORE THAN IN THE LEONARD "DEADWYLER" CASE - THIS TESTIMONY SHOWS THAT THIS WAS A CLEAR CASE OF AGGRAVATED, (CALCULATED), BRUTALITY AND MURDER

REMEMBER WHAT HAPPENED IN THE DEADWYLER CASE - THE POLICE CALLED "JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE" AND THE COP WAS LET LOOSE.

IN THIS CASE THE POLICE RETAINED WITH "JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE"

COME TO: THE PEOPLE'S TRIAL

AT: SOUTH PARK 51ST AND AVENUE

WHEN: SUNDAY MARCH 17TH

TIME: 3:00 PM

WE BLACK PEOPLE WILL PROSECUTE THIS RACIST COP WHO MURDERED OUR BROTHER!!!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

ISSUED BY: THE PEOPLES TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
March 14, 1968

Title THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Los Angeles letterhead memorandum
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 3/14/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-NEW)

SUBJECT: THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTER

OO: Los Angeles

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a letter-
head memorandum (LHM) concerning the proposed demonstration
of the People's Tribunal Committee to be held at Los Angeles
on 3/17/68.

The LHM is being classified confidential because
it contains data from currently active informants.

The sources mentioned in the LHM are as follows:

Source one
[Redacted]

Orally to SA FRANCIS G.
KAHL, 3/12/68

- 4 - Bureau (Encls. 12) (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529)
- 10 - Los Angeles
- (1 - [Redacted])
- (1 - [Redacted])
- (1 - [Redacted])
- (1 - 100-23660) (ROSE KUSNITZ)
- (1 - 100-56057) ([Redacted])
- (1 - 100-1783) (LACDBR)
- (1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)
- (1 - 157-943)
- (1 - 157-1713) ([Redacted])

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(14)

[Handwritten signature]

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED *[Handwritten initials]*
FILED *[Handwritten initials]*

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OFFICE COPY

100-66078-1452

LA 157-NEW

Source two

[redacted]

Orally to SA [redacted]

[redacted] 3/12/68

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Source three.

[redacted]

Orally to SA FRANCIS G.
KAHL, 3/12/68

An extra copy of the airtel and LHM is being furnished the Bureau for the CIRM file.

The Los Angeles Police Department has been advised.

Local military intelligence agencies, the United States Attorney and Secret Service, Los Angeles, California are being furnished copies of the LHM.

Racial liaison sources and informants have been alerted.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
March 22, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-12-2011

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF
H. RAP BROWN,
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

Sources utilized in this memorandum have furnished reliable information in the past.

On March 18, 1968, source one indicated that a demonstration and possible sit-in has been planned for 10:00 AM, March 20, 1968 at the new Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California, in support of H. Rap Brown, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant black nationalist organization, who is incarcerated in New Orleans, Louisiana on two Federal charges. The demonstration is being planned as an all day affair and is being organized by [redacted] [redacted] who is publicly identified as a member of the Southern California District Communist Party and a member of Los Angeles SNCC. [redacted] has been attempting to obtain support from local militant black nationalist organizations. No organization has been designated as sponsor for this demonstration.

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Source two on March 20, 1968, indicated that a demonstration will be held at 11:00 AM until 7:00 PM, this date, at the new Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, to demonstrate black people support for H. Rap Brown. The demonstration is being organized by

- 10 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (RM)
- 1 - 115th MI, Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, LA (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- ③ - Los Angeles (157-2210)
- ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

JWW/mmm
(20)

Gay

SEARCHED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INDEXED GROUP 1
SERIALIZED Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
FILED declassification

100-66078-1453

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN;
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

[redacted] and [redacted],
who is also known as [redacted], all members of
Los Angeles SNCC.

[redacted] is publicly known as [redacted]
[redacted] of Self Leadership For All Nationalities
Today (SLANT), which is a militant black
nationalist organization, based in Los Angeles,
California.

[redacted], also known as [redacted]
[redacted] is known to source 2 as a militant
black nationalist and a member of Los
Angeles SNCC.

Source two indicated that the sponsoring
organizations for this demonstration will be Los Angeles
SNCC and the Black Congress, a coalition of militant black
nationalist organizations in South Los Angeles.

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On March 20, 1968, Agents of the Federal Bureau
of Investigation observed the demonstration in support of
H. Rap Brown, Chairman of SNCC, who is incarcerated in New
Orleans, Louisiana, in front of the new Federal Building,
300 North Los Angeles, Street, Los Angeles, which commenced
at 11:00 AM and terminated at 6:30 PM.

The demonstration was organized by [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted]
[redacted], also known as Brother [redacted].

Brother [redacted] is publicly known as [redacted]
of Los Angeles Civil Alert Patrol, an
organization formed to spy on the Los
Angeles Police Department, while on official
duties in South Los Angeles.

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PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN,
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

The organizations sponsoring the demonstration as voiced by the demonstrators were Los Angeles SNCC, the Black Congress and the H. Rap Brown Defense Fund Committee.

There were approximately 30 to 40 Negro demonstrators who marched in a circular procession outside the new Federal Building, carrying signs which read, "Let Rap Rap", "We're A Winner", "Black Is Beautiful" and "Free Rap". As they marched, they chanted "Free Rap". They passed small containers to observers and passersby, to raise funds for H. Rap Brown.

The demonstrators attracted approximately 30 to 40 observers, who watched the demonstration without incident.

The demonstrators passed leaflets to observers and passersby, from which the following excerpts were taken:

"H. Rap Brown is being held in a Louisiana jail for exercising his right to freedom of speech here in Los Angeles. His purpose in coming to Los Angeles was to see his lawyer, which was not in violation of any travel restriction. He is also being falsely accused of intimidating a Negro F.B.I. agent.

"A majority of the obligation for freeing Rap Brown lies with the people of the West Coast. Rap felt that speaking on the West Coast in defense of Huey P. Newton was worth any consequence he might suffer.

"Remember! He did not break or violate any travel restrictions. He is being punished because he raps against our oppressor, the United States government!

"You must help him by contributing to the H. Rap Brown Defense Fund."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN,
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

There was also literature passed out concerning a letter from H. Rap Brown, from the Parish Prison, New Orleans, Louisiana, dated February 21, 1968, which is as follows:

"Being a man is the continuing battle of one's life. One loses a bit of manhood with every stale compromise to the authority of any power in which one does not believe.

"No slave should die a natural death. There is a point where caution ends and cowardice begins.

"For every day I am in prison I will refuse both food and water. My hunger is for the liberation of my people. My thirst is for the ending of oppression.

"I am a political prisoner; jailed for my beliefs--that black people must be free. The government has taken a position true to its fascist nature.

"Those who they cannot convert they silence.

"This government has become the enemy of mankind.

"This can no longer alter our path to freedom. For our people, death has been the only known exit from slavery and oppression.

"We must open others.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN,
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

"Our will to live must no longer supercede our will to fight, for our fighting will determine if our race shall live. To desire freedom is not enough.

"We must move from resistance to aggression, from revolt to revolution.

"For every Orangeburg, there must be ten Detroits. For Every Max Stanford and every Huey Newton there must be ten dead racist cops. And for every black death, there must be a Dien Bien Phu.

"Brothers and Sisters, and all oppressed people, we must prepare ourselves both mentally and physically, for the major confrontation yet to come.

"We must fight.

"It is the people who in the final analysis make and determine history, not leaders of systems. The laws to govern us must be made by us.

"May the death of '68 signal the beginning of the end of this country.

"I do what I must out of the love for my people. My will is to fight; resistance is not enough. Aggression is the order of the day.

Note To America

"America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your troops to revolt against you and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life. But my soul belongs to my people.

"Lasima tushinde mbilashaka. We shall conquer without a doubt!"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN,
NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 20, 1968
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

The demonstration was orderly and no incident occurred, and no arrests were made.

This memorandum is being furnished to United States Attorney, Los Angeles; Secret Service, Los Angeles; Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; 115th Military Intelligence Group, Region II, Pasadena and Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
March 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

157-2210

Title PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND SIT-IN,
 TO PROTEST ARREST OF H. RAP BROWN,
 NEW FEDERAL BUILDING
 300 NORTH LOS ANGELES STREET
 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
 MARCH 20, 1968

Character INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated and
 captioned as above at Los Angeles

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

Date: 3/22/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2210)
SUBJECT: PROPOSED DEMONSTRATION AND
SIT-IN, TO PROTEST ARREST OF
H. RAP BROWN,
New Federal Building
300 North Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, California
3/20/68
INFORMATION CONCERNING-RACIAL MATTER

Re Los Angeles teletype to the Bureau, dated
3/19/68 and Los Angeles teletype to the Bureau, dated
3/20/68.

Submitted herewith for the Bureau are ten (10)
copies and two (2) copies to Atlanta of a letterhead
memorandum (LHM), concerning captioned demonstration.

One copy each of this LHM is being furnished to
115th Military Intelligence Group, Region II, Pasadena;
Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; Office of Special
Investigations, Norton Air Force Base; Secret Service, Los
Angeles and United States Attorney, Los Angeles.

Sources utilized in attached LHM are as follows:

Source 1



b7D

Source 2

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 3 - Los Angeles
(1) - 100-66078) (CIRM)

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Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

OFFICE COPY

100-66078-1454

LA 157-2210

On 3/20/68, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, [redacted] and [redacted] observed captioned demonstration.

b6
b7C

The attached LHM is being classified ~~confidential~~, in view of the information furnished by the above mentioned symbol numbered informants, who are of continuing value.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-12-2011

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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks).

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date of Report

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date(s) of activity

b6
b7C
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Brief description of activity or material

Panel report presented at Conference on Strategy and Tactics in the new stage of struggle for negro liberation.

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

The attached is being submitted to the CIRM file for purposes of information.

100-66078-1455

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SEARCHED	INDEXED
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MAR 12 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

Report of Panel on Work in the White Community
the CP, USA

Summary of Proposal:

Introduction:

We are living in a period of great uncertainties, not only fraught with great dangers. On the one hand, large sections of the major white community today are puzzled and concerned about what is happening now in America and what the future will bring. This concern arises not from a sudden ideological elevation of class conscious understanding, but rather for the most part has developed out of a new awareness of self-interest. Indicative of this development is the significant support for Negro candidates in some white communities.

On the other hand, however, the current period is pregnant with serious dangers of racial conflict and further disintegration of relations between white and black workers. The forces of reaction and terrorism have accelerated their campaign to promote fear and hysteria in already tense and confused white communities.

Broad areas of common concern exist between Negroes and whites. Any serious progress in any of these areas depends upon mutual struggle and unified actions. For instance, the trade union movement must be made to see that in many cases its very existence and its future future depends upon a forthright and unambiguous fight in behalf of the Negro people. Urban dwellers must be made aware that the future of our cities, increasing and more than the decay of our urban centers, depends upon a rebuilding of national business, and that the interests of whites are one with Negroes in this struggle.

For our Party the present period offers a most serious challenge, one which can and must be met. To fulfill our present tasks, however, we will have to make significant changes, and in this respect the role of white Communists in their communities becomes central.

1. To fulfill our role in leading this struggle the Party must undertake an intense and thorough ideological campaign in our own ranks.

We must seek to equip our members to act as initiators of struggle in every aspect of their lives--on the job, in their unions, in their neighborhoods, and in social organizations. We must struggle to overcome all weaknesses which exist in our ranks on the question of white workmen and outdoor terms of participation. Our goal must be to re-establish the basis for serious participation on the part of every member, not just in word, but in deed, and to bring back to the initiators of mass struggles wherever we are.

2. An immediate part of our campaign is the effective use of all available literature. We must make use of all available literature, for example, and on a national scale, the Party must make use of all available literature to bring the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation to the attention of the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation. We must make use of all available literature to bring the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation to the attention of the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation.

3. On the national level we must make use of all available literature to bring the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation to the attention of the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation. We must make use of all available literature to bring the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation to the attention of the white workmen and outdoor terms of participation.

potential ...

A national defense organization ... Civil Rights Congress of an earlier period, appears to be lacking in depth ... ought to give serious attention to building such an organization based on certain basic principles.

4. A crucial element of our work ... on a second front is the anti-war movement. We must show first and foremost to these groups that the only basis of healthy black-white unity must be found in their own, the struggle for Black Liberation as much a part of the ... issues of peace are today for the Black Liberation movement. ... show arenas of common concern, like the issue of police brutality, and only the anti-war movement to activity in defense of Negro rights.

5. The MFDP challenge to the Democratic Convention should be made a central national issue of struggle. Support for the challenge should be built in every community, both within and outside the Democratic party structure. Resolutions of support should be developed at each state Democratic convention. In addition, this activity should be utilized as a part of our campaign to urge Negro candidates to run wherever possible for Congressional and other positions.

6. A central arena for building black-white unity must be in our trade union work. The Party must take steps now in every district to select a plant, shop, or industry in which we take the lead in organizing the unorganized. There is no area of the country in which unorganized shops do not exist where Negroes, whites and other minority group peoples work side by side under the worst conditions.

Such a campaign on our part will also serve to revitalize the trade union movement while placing the question of a massive organizing drive in the South before every union for immediate action.

7. We must single out the building trades as a special area for a battle to open union ranks to all minority groups, attacking the exclusionary policies of most unions in the crafts. Complementary job-creating and apprenticeship programs should be included as essential to any such drive to be taken by such unions. We refer these proposals to the Trade Union Commission for detailed development and suggest that one union, such as the Plumbers, be selected for initial concentration.

8. The Party should place itself in the front line of the battle to defend Ray Brown, the Fort Hood Three, Ben Bolmar, and others, and others who have been subject to frame-up prosecutions. An immediate campaign in our press and the setting of control tasks for every division and chapter. This campaign must not be limited to the Party itself, but rather should be taken by the Party into every neighborhood, school and general community for attention.

9. An integral part of our Party activity ... must be the proper use and role of our press. ... these issues must more fully ... as organs of education ...

10. ... our Party has narrowly ... an emphasis on ... as well.

11. In ...

housing, community control, education, and transportation is central to this battle.

To make such a program meaningful, the Party must take this campaign into every neighborhood, mass organization, church and social group, etc. We must expose and combat the attempt of the anti-Soviet to make demagogic use of these issues.

12. An integral part of the campaign for white unity and control to the struggle against racism in white communities is a fight to guarantee the defeat of Wallace in the '68 elections. We must take every step necessary to guarantee that Wallace and his supporters are isolated in every community and expose the racist, anti-union, anti-Communist nature of his appeal.

13. Students and the academic and intellectual community must play no small role in this struggle. A major battlefield against racism are the campuses and elementary and secondary schools of our country. A fight must be initiated in every school system and on every campus to guarantee open admissions policies, compensatory schooling, special scholarships, integrated teaching staffs, curriculum dealing with Negro and Labor history, and the elevation of minority group educators to positions of policy-making and authority at every level.

14. Our policy of industrial concentration has special significance for the struggle in the white community. If a breakthrough can be made in auto, steel, transportation, etc. among white workers on the special needs of Negro workers on the job and in their fullest voice in union policy-making, then these workers and unions can become a powerful lever to move the whole trade union movement and white working masses generally. Since these industries now have such a large proportion of black workers, such a breakthrough is both more necessary and possible.

In this respect we must make a special study with respect to the "industrial suburb," as a means by which Negroes are deprived of opportunities to enter the fields in which meaningful jobs are available.

Conclusion:

This report outlines only our initial ideas. It should serve as a basis in every district for immediate attention to the special duties of our Party to make the fight against racism a fundamental and central part of our work in every field.

It is the feeling of this newspaper that the Party should consider special conferences to further develop our work in these fields.

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	Date(s) of activity b6 - b7C b7D
	File where original is located if not attached

Brief description of activity or material

Panel report presented at national conference on negro affairs.

Remarks: *The attached is being submitted to the CIRM file for purposes of information.*

100-66078-1456

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SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 12 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NEGRO AFFAIRS

Roscoe Proctor Reporting, for PANEL ON TECHNIQUES AND METHODS OF

STRUGGLE 10/15/67 (Unedited)

It was suggested that we discuss three specific questions under this general heading:

1. What is our attitude to the question of organized armed uprisings in the ghetto?
2. How do we view the problem of struggles for partial gains and their relation to reforms and revolution?
3. What are the variety of forms of struggle which can or should be used interchangeably and how do we go about changing the direction the struggle should take -- for example, the struggles against the monopolies and big business?

On the question of the use of violence in the ghetto, we as Marxists have always affirmed that oppressed people have the right to forcibly overthrow an oppressive regime when the channels for democratic change are closed to them. This right is also affirmed in the Declaration of Independence. Therefore there can be no question of the right of the black people in the U.S. to use violence to achieve change. Our estimation of when violent means are called for is determined by time, place and circumstances and our position at any given moment strives to reflect the concrete situation and conditions which prevail at that moment.

We believe that in addition to the domestic problems and the international influences which are now being exerted upon the black movement in this country, which has given rise to the new emphasis that is now being placed upon armed struggle, it is also related to four other factors.

One is the growing lack of confidence of the black people in this country in their ability to achieve meaningful change through the democratic process. There is a growing lack of confidence in the white working class to overcome racism and join with black people in the struggle for meaningful alternatives. There is a lack of an alternative program to violence being put forward by other sections of the left which is radical enough to solve the problems of the ghettos. There is a lack of class consciousness and revolutionary tactics among the leadership of the black movement which is geared to U.S. conditions.

Now we believe that the only purpose for serious armed insurrection is the seizure of political power. And if it is not for this purpose, with a good possibility of victory, then armed insurrection should not be initiated. We believe that conspiratorial, terroristic actions which are not based upon a program aimed at improving the conditions of life for the masses and which does not receive the support of the masses is reckless, adventurous, provocative and politically irresponsible toward the people, that it invited reprisals upon the black community and therefore should be rejected.

We believe that terrorism within the black community which is directed against so-called Uncle Toms or others who refuse to go along with the program so to speak, in addition to the above, is divisive and out of place given the political conditions which prevail today and likewise should be rejected.

We believe that the question is to organize in the community, to conduct political struggle around an ideology which will isolate people who are not acting in the interests of the community.

Although we do not advocate a public policy of looting and arson, we believe that the uprisings themselves did do some good in terms of dramatizing the seriousness of the problems of the ghettos, that it did get the message over to many white Americans that they too can be affected by the especially oppressive conditions which are being heaped upon black Americans and that the uprisings did provoke some responses in governmental circles (Stokes in Cleveland and others.)

We tend to agree with those who say that the strength of the uprisings, looting and burning lies in its spontaneity and that once uprisings are put on an organized basis with an identified leadership, that they become something else entirely and will be understood and approached as such and will be dealt with by the ruling class and the black structure as such.

We recognize that sometimes some things are just done without a great deal of planning or talking about it beforehand. For instance, trade unionists generally don't advocate sabotage or dumping of scabs but under certain conditions of strike struggles workers react to what they believe to be in their best interests on the spot and at the moment

Likewise, unless conditions are improved in the ghettos black people will undoubtedly continue to react to existing conditions and to instances of police harassment and brutality. If we have reason to believe that the black community is faced with the possibility of an onslaught, we believe that it is our responsibility to do anything that we can to prevent it, including going outside of that community to the white community and to the trade union movement and trying to get them to exercise the weight of their influence upon the power structure and those who will bring such force to bear upon the black community to see to it that it does not take place.

We should do everything we can to prevent such an onslaught and preserve life within the black community.

Finally, in regard to violence, the difficult area and the legitimate one in our opinion in the area of self-defense which we support, including armed self-defense if necessary. We believe that under all circumstances the black people not only have the right but the responsibility to defend their persons, their homes and their community. And in line with this position we support the demand that black people police their own community.

The questions which must be posed always in regard to violence are:

What is the purpose of the violence? Are all the channels closed for achieving such goals through democratic or peaceful means? Against whom and what is the violence being directed? Will violence achieve the desired results? Do the masses of the people support the use of armed force as a means for redressing their grievances?

As we see it today, the overwhelming majority of the American people including the black people, are not yet convinced that the system must be changed, much less by armed force. We therefore reject today the organizing of armed uprisings in the black community.

On the second question: The relationship between partial gains, that is, reforms, and revolution. We see the relationship between reform and revolution being related to organization and consciousness. We feel that reforms are important and necessary steps in the struggle for revolutionary change but in themselves are not decisive. We also recognize that quite often reforms are granted by the power structure in order to stop the movement, blunt its direction and to dissipate the forces fighting for change. Therefore the struggle must not cease with the winning of partial gains or reforms but must continue on another and higher level, if the victory is not to be dissipated and diluted. It should attempt to draw lessons from each struggle and follow up on each victory with demands and program which go even further towards improving the conditions of our people and to make it clear at all times that it is the popular mass struggle on the part of the people for reforms which accounts for whatever gains are won.

We therefore feel the need to establish and be guided by certain principles.

1. We should not project program only on the basis of what is felt to be what the power structure will grant at any given moment. Demands must flow out of what the community needs and this gets us into the area of radical demands today. Thus the black community is in an economic crisis and only radical demands can begin to meet its needs. We must fight for the principle that government is responsible to provide work

industry. While we support programs for vocational training with adequate compensation during the period of training, we must reject the concept that unless human beings are tailored to technological needs they must be dumped on the scrap heap. On the contrary, we must insist that work opportunities be tailored to meet human needs, that jobs be provided to employ the skills and capacity limited as they might be, of those seeking work. The ghetto's need for homes, schools, hospitals and other public facilities is so enormous that any appreciable effort to meet them can create the conditions for fulfilling this demand.

Finally, on this point, we should place our emphasis on reforms that will weaken monopoly capital and effectively strengthen and expand the democratic power of our people. Public ownership of utilities, insurance, people's banks, federal farm funds and long-term low-interest loans for people's producers and consumers coops. Nationalization with guarantee of public control, with surpluses going to the people. Community control over community institutions with guarantees of community administration of federal and state funding programs.

We say that reforms are needed and necessary, first of all for the actual preservation of life itself. In many communities conditions are so urgent in the ghetto, especially in the South that the winning of a welfare case, a food grant, medical aid, can mean the difference between life and slow death. Secondly, we must fight for immediate gains and reforms because mass organization initially takes place around local issues which are viable, pressing for programs which offer realizable demands and the possibility of immediate victory. Third, the struggles around partial gains and immediate demands not only organize the people but also educate them in many ways. Victories build confidence in their ability to win and exposes those who are standing in their way.

To relate partial demands with more radical long-term demands, it is always advisable to project a program in a given area composed of several points - a multipoint program - all of which lead in the direction of a more complete solution to the problem, going from the most urgent to the most radical. In this way the people will not lose sight of the long-term goals being fought for.

Finally, when we speak of revolutionary change in the system, we repeat the point made in the Party Draft Program:

"People are less disposed to attempt new forms of government until they are persuaded through experience that the old forms cannot right its evils. Such a realization can only come about by putting the old forms to the test, that is, by fighting for the maximum attainable within the present system. When the masses become convinced that the system is not what it is cracked up to be; that they cannot in fact exert their democratic will, then they will see the need to change the system and create one that can meet their needs."

On the third question: How do we go about changing the direction the struggle should take?

First of all, it is absolutely necessary that we be on the scene and a part of the struggle itself but that we also be there with a program. Experience has shown that it is not enough to constantly pour cold water on others' programs without offering a more viable alternative. To develop program for the black community today means that we have to develop in many cases a dual program -- one which is aimed at building black control of its own community, over the institutions which operate there, and one which relates to more radical demands which must be fought for and instituted by both black and white Americans. The character of such a program must be radical.

Our main contribution in the black community today, after having injected program into the struggle, is to project a class analysis of the society in which we live and to expose the main enemy of the people to develop a struggle aimed at making the democratic machinery function more effectively for the people and to fight for political representation which will be responsive to the people.

We believe that the division of black-white responsibility has to be developed and perfected, that black people will gain confidence in white people's willingness to join the struggle and overcome their racism only on the basis of actual participation in the struggle. That in order to strengthen the influence of Marxist ideas in the movement, it is necessary to develop left forms for education and action within the black community.

New times, new issues, new methods of struggle sometimes require new forms and we should not be afraid to experiment with new forms simply because they are not traditional or have not been tested in practice. In the development of forms the intent is to bring ideological and organizational influence of our Party to bear upon the mass movement, to more effectively participate in struggles that are already in motion, to project issues and initiate struggle not presently being conducted and to recruit more advanced, active militants into our Party.

The forms that we are proposing are both mass forms and Left forms.

1. We see the need to call together existing organizations in the black community in some form of council or congress so that they can exercise a greater collective upon the community as a whole by agreeing upon joint struggle around those issues on which they can agree. Example - Los Angeles. We think that the boycott - consumer, school, and other forms of boycott - should be used and expanded. We should advocate work stoppages around basic issues or protest (Detroit Plan).

There is the idea of commemorating holidays of black heroes and adding more to the list: Du Bois, Davis, etc. There is the idea of black caucuses to be formed when the need arises, some on a continuing basis, others temporarily; unions, communities, conventions, conferences etc.

A discussion bulletin to discuss ideological differences within the black-people's movement to be put out by the Negro Commission (Third world concept, etc.)

Promote the form of cultural centers and bookstores in the ghetto.

Provide Marxist training schools for the specific training of our black cadre in the Party.

Develop more full-time black organizers for the Party at all levels including women.

Assign regional coordinators full time to help strengthen the work of the Party in the black and minority community at regional levels.

Plan regional seminars of black Comrades working in the community, schools, and factories.

Train them in how to write, public speaking, public debating and organizing.

A special budget to be set aside for work in the black community

Support and help to build local and regional conference of black youth to culminate in a National Youth Congress (referred to Youth Commission).

Explore possibility of supporting summer camp movement - family, young adults, and teenagers.



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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-12-2011

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Dictated _____ to _____

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Date of Report

Date(s) of activity

Brief description of activity or material

*Copy of report to National Conference
CPL USA by Claude Lightfoot*

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

*The attached is being submitted to
the CIRM file for purposes of
information*

100-66078-1457

Block Stamp

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 12 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Handwritten signature]

By Claude Lightfoot,
Secretary of the National Committee for Negro Affairs

Subject: TO SAVE AMERICA, THESE THINGS ARE REQUIRED:

It has been historical, as well as current experience that a coalescence of struggle of black and white at the grass roots level is the main prerequisite for social advances in our country. Yet, at a time when the nation faces unprecedented problems such as war and peace, the growth of a fascist danger and new economic difficulties, to many people, black and white unity has become a dirty word. Germs of disunity, germs of a cancerous nature, are circulating in the body of the American people, and unless radical surgery is performed, many of the vital organs will be lost, if not the entire body. Patent medicines no longer suffice to meet this growing crisis.

To help unravel the reasons for this situation, we shall discuss the character of the present period, look into what is new in racism, define the nature of the present wave of black nationalism, discuss methods of struggle required for today, estimate the Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years. And finally, we shall determine what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today.

The Negro question cannot be abstracted from the general political situation within the country. The Proctor article estimates what the general situation in the black community will be for the next 10 or 15 years, but in my judgment it does so in isolation from the perspective for the country as a whole for the next 10 to 15 years. Proctor writes:

In the next decade all indications are that black national consciousness, black nationalism will undergo an explosive growth within the United States. Negro migration to the cities, the cities' growing deterioration, the failure of society, including the trade unions, to fully integrate Negroes, the worsening economic conditions of the Negroes and their growing relation with colored people on a world scale will help to feed black nationalist tendencies and growth.

Now, Proctor does not say whether this black nationalism that he speaks of will be a form of nationalism directed against imperialism, that is, of a positive nature, or whether it will be of a divisive separatist nature such as is embodied in the policies and program of Elijah Muhammad. While he does not indicate what direction it will take, he presents a catalog of the conditions which will promote this national consciousness over the next decade. I conclude, therefore, that he anticipates that over the next 10 or 15 years the problems of worsening conditions of Negroes, including the refusal of the trade unions to integrate, deterioration in the cities, migration to the big cities, etc., will continue to mount. In other words, things will get worse. And if they do, the trend of black nationalism will be toward a more reactionary character.

The development of black nationalism in one direction or another is not a thing in itself; it is a reaction to the general political situation in the country at large. Hence, in order not to err in our judgments about the Negro question, it is necessary to have a clear picture of the general trends in the country.

We are at one of those great crossroads in history where mankind will either advance toward a high plateau of social progress, eliminating all that is vile, reprehensible, dehumanizing and exploitative, or toward the destruction of man's existence on this planet. Which way is yet to be determined.

We Communists are not passive observers on the social scene. We are, or aspire to be, social and political scientists. And in this connection we always seek ways and means of channelizing events in a progressive direction. We examine things as they are at a given moment. We seek out the obstacles which interrupt the smooth flow of progress. We work to uncover the contradictions whose resolution will permit a flow of developments in a given direction.

The existence of many contradictions in the nature of things at present accelerates a growth of frustrations, a groping for new directional signals and, in some instances, hopelessness and despair. We shall proceed to examine some of these contradictions.

The present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence. Unlike the decade of the fifties, the mid-point of the 1960s is marked by ever-increasing waves of struggle by almost all strata of the American people. Yesterday it was mainly the Negro movement that protested injustice. Today the youth, the church, labor and the intelligentsia, in varying degrees, have taken the path of struggle. These forces are converging on the war policies of the Johnson Administration and are creating a deep-going crisis in foreign affairs. The peace movement in our country is perhaps the greatest in history. Seldom has a people challenged its government's pursuance of war with the vigor and determination now manifested by the American people.

The growth of automation and cybernation places the economy in a precarious position and leads workers to the path of struggle to a degree not witnessed in recent years. Strikes are breaking out in all directions. They involve all categories of workers, the more affluent and the less affluent.

As we near the year's end, there have been at least 150 outbreaks of violence in more than 120 cities. Over \$270 million in property has been destroyed. It is estimated that 118 people have been killed and nearly 4,000 injured. Roughly 4,000 have been arrested, and National Guardsmen have been called out 23 times.

This is the balance sheet, and the end is nowhere in sight. Indeed, there are those who now see "the long hot summers" extended into "the long cold winters." Especially is this shown by the crime rates. These, a barometer of the sick society and its social turbulence, have reached fantastic proportions.

The FBI announced on September 15 that crime in the United States had risen 17 per cent during the past year and predicted that by the year's end the increase in all types of crime would total 62 per cent over the last six years. Vandalism is on the increase. In 1966 the cost of vandalism in New York schools totaled \$5 million. In Washington, D.C., window breakage and theft in schools last year cost more than \$214,000.

In every aspect of American life there is an unprecedented degree of dissatisfaction. The people are striking back. Sometimes they strike according to plan. Sometimes they erupt spontaneously. And sometimes they hit out blindly. But whatever the form they take, these are all struggles by the people against a system that hurts so many of them.

Basically, this growing strife arises from a capitalist system in decay. But in particular it is an outgrowth of a war policy. Our government, committed for the last twenty years to a program designed to save the collapsing system of colonialism and imperialism in general, and to promote the domination of U.S. capitalism and imperialism in particular, has brought us to this situation on the home front. A lopsided war budget with its huge expenditures for military hardware, with its dollars for the CIA to bribe and corrupt, leaves little to combat growing problems of poverty, technological displacement of workers and deterioration within the ghettos and cities, to replace obsolete housing, and to create a higher quality of education. These problems, moreover, are greatly aggravated by the new technological and scientific advance in production.

As a consequence of this development, new relations between workers and business, new measures by the state for the welfare of the workers must be evolved. The slowness of such changes is producing great hardships and insecurity for all strata of the American working people.

With the growth of struggle by various sectors of the American people, with the continuing expansion of objective circumstances that induce an enlargement of struggles, one would expect that the pro-democratic masses would be assuming commanding heights; one would think that the future would appear hopeful and that few would become engulfed in despair.

Professor Seymour Melman performed a historic task when, in his work, Our Depleted Society (Holt, New York, 1965), he laid bare all the contradictions within a war economy and hopefully looked to the future. He wrote:

I expect that diverse groups in American life will discover common ground as they each seek ways to improve their own lot. Americans who suffer directly from the depletion process, or whose prospects for a really better life are held up by the depleted society - all these will be acting in parallel, even in concert, to accelerate the reconstruction of American life.

The various components of the pro-democratic forces in the country are in large part already in the arena of struggle. In some instances they act in a parallel manner; in others, they tend to merge (as witness the merging of efforts by the peace and civil rights forces). And yet, at this moment, there are growing clashes and cleavages between forces who have so much in common. The growing strife between the forces who should and must unite if "we are to overcome" is the most challenging problem facing the people's movements. It is the most important problem before this conference.

What are the factors engendering disunity?

Objective circumstances increasingly are compelling all pro-democratic masses into the arena of struggle. But consciousness of the interrelation of these struggles, of how they impinge on each other, and of what must be done to effect greater correlation, lags dangerously behind.

Thus, the main weaknesses lie in the realm of ideas, concepts and ideology. And it is in this area that a widespread counteroffensive by reactionary elements has come into prominence.

The forms that this offensive takes are many, but the decisive weapon is still racist ideology. But just to repeat "racism" would be meaningless. We must examine the new circumstances in which this poison is being spread. We must uncover the new objective and subjective bases that are the springboard for its renewed growth.

Historically, racism has been the main ideological weapon which our ruling class has used to divide the ranks of the working people. About its harmful effects, Gus Hall wrote:

Bigotry is like a poison gas deliberately designed to incapacitate all opposition. Like such a gas it distorts reality and brings on a state of confusion. A friend appears as an enemy, an enemy as a friend.

As Hall indicated, in those circumstances confusion reigns supreme, and, as Gil Green once wrote, the real enemy - big business - becomes "the enemy forgotten."

The seeds of current trends of disunity have been assiduously planted in the past several years. That the enemy is working overtime is very evident.

We witnessed two parallel developments in 1964 which helped to heighten tensions among the people. One was the forays of George C. Wallace from Alabama into the Northern communities. Now, it is clear that Wallace could not win any election, could not win the nomination, could not make any significant campaign. The main reason Wallace came into the North in the 1964 elections was to make an appeal to prejudice among white workers, and wherever he went, whether it was Gary, Baltimore or other cities, this was the main pitch. And in some respects it paid off. The large number of white workers who supported this avowed racist was cause for great concern.

The over-all strategy called for the organization of a so-called "white backlash." This idea made its appearance in the 1964 elections on the eve of the greatest coalescence of pro-democratic forces in the history of our country, aimed at the defeat of Goldwater, with labor, the liberal community, the middle strata, the farmers and

to use the weapon of white supremacy, of prejudice, of fear and insecurity, to mobilize white workers to throw the ranks of black and white into further disarray.

The second development in 1964 was the refusal to seat the delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention. The insistence of President Johnson, and of outstanding labor and liberal spokesmen, on forcing the Freedom Democratic Party to accept a compromise with the Dixiecrat South, proved to be one of the most harmful actions in recent years. This laid the basis for the serious division in the labor-liberal-Negro coalition that followed 1964.

James Forman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was correct in calling it a "profile in treachery." For a new factor had now emerged, though it was not too easily discernible at that moment. That is, the ideological assault now came not only from ultra-Right forces such as Wallace and his supporters, but also, simultaneously, from leaders of the liberal and labor coalition who moved in for the purpose of checkmating the further acceleration of the Negro people's movement. The joining together of these two currents laid the seeds of accelerated tendencies of disunity among the people.

What is the background of these developments? Why did Walter Reuther, Humphrey and others who had distinguished themselves as great liberals, as friends of the Negro people, as staunch civil rights fighters, act as they did at Atlantic City? Comrade Henry Winston points out that their previous position was rooted in the 1954 Supreme Court decision. That decision, he says, was a class decision. U.S. imperialism was prepared at that moment to make some concessions to the Negro movement for two purposes: (1) to try to overcome the racist image the U.S. had won for itself as a result of oppression of the Negro people; and (2) to mobilize the Negro people's movement for the war effort.

Beginning at Atlantic City and afterward, however, the gears shifted and the demands of the Negro people's movement went into motion for more fundamental changes not mere palliatives and superficial reforms. Power was placed on the agenda. The economic aspect of the question was brought to the forefront, and demands were placed that go to the heart of reversing the war policies of U.S. imperialism, and with this, of removing many of the domestic camouflages. This was the hard political reality underlying a situation which now began to work in reverse.

Consequently, if we make an assessment of racist ideology in the U.S. today, we have to take into account the fact that there is at the present time no section of the ruling class that is working for the limited goals and limited purposes of some years ago. Today, most of the so-called liberal community joins with the ultra-Right for the purpose of defeating the efforts of the Black People's Movement for radical and deep-going changes in their status.

A good example of this change is the way in which the police power of the State is employed. Several years ago the police power of the federal government was used to back civil rights efforts in the South. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy were compelled by an outraged nation to send troops to the South. Today, however, the police forces in many cities allegedly ruled by liberals not only are used against the Negro people but are in fact the main forces provoking violence and disorder. And in every instance, beginning with the situation in New York City under the liberal Mayor Wagner, the police force has been absolved. Furthermore, the police power of the federal government backs up the racist attacks against Negroes and blames the victims. And President Johnson makes appeals which can only lead white people, on the citizen level, to take up arms against black people.

The main problem is not that the ruling circles are using racist ideology. There is nothing new in this. What is important is that there is an insufficient response among whites, a failure to act at the grass roots level. Hence it is not enough for progressives and radicals to explain the source of racism. Most people of good will understand that. What is most important is to discover how and why this poison can operate so easily among the masses. And when this is understood, maybe we can "overcome." For no matter in how racist a fashion the ruling class behaves, if there is no acceptance of racism among the masses, this behavior will be of little consequence.

In addition to the betrayal by certain labor and liberal forces in the country, there is a material basis for the growth of chauvinist attitudes among workers. Racist

problems flowing not only from a war economy but also from scientific and technological changes, and second in the area of housing.

The growth of job displacement and unemployment by automation in industry has created new problems for the American workers. With no clear solution in view, the working class lives in constant fear of what tomorrow will bring. Thus, the problem of job insecurity tend by itself to become a driving force for tensions among workers, rather than to lead them to approach it as a class problem, as a problem of all workers -- the more affluent, the less affluent, black and white. There are strong tendencies among white workers to seek solutions at the expense of their black brothers. This adds to the problems of the black brother, who is already bearing the brunt of the problem. It takes the form of greater unemployment, under-employment and other dehumanizing conditions. These are ongoing problems which daily get worse, not better.

Indicative of this trend are the findings of a recent Labor Department survey, covering over twenty black ghettos. It notes the following:

16.9 per cent of those employed were working only part time, though trying to find a full-time job. The comparable national figure is 2.3 per cent. 21 per cent of the full-time workers earn less than \$60.00 a week, the equivalent of the \$3,000 annual poverty line. The national figure is 15.4 per cent. 37 per cent of the slum families reported annual incomes under \$3,000 compared with 25 per cent nationally. The average family income was about \$3,800 compared with the national average of \$6,300. ... 47 per cent of the families reported income from unemployment insurance, welfare and other non-employment sources.

This survey shows why Black America is increasingly becoming alienated from White America.

One of the problems automation poses is the necessity for workers to improve their skills. But in this connection certain unions stand out as the main obstacles to Negroes acquiring skill. Historically, the building trades unions have been one of the main barriers. Today, no less than yesterday, these unions emerge as the greatest scabs in the labor movement, the main source of friction between black and white workers. Big business and the government utilize this situation to throw workers into competition with each other, feed anti-union sentiments among black workers and make the business community and the government appear as the real friends of the black workers.

For example, look at this newspaper report of a dialogue between Senator Robert Kennedy and a building trades leader, headed: "Kennedy Declares Building Unions Fail to Admit Negroes." Haggerty, one of the building trades leaders, responded: "We can't take aboard a boy that can't read or a boy that's a school dropout." Peter T. Shulman, president of the Plumbers' Union, said: "We have certain minimum requirements." Kennedy replied: "I would think that there are more than 21 boys in all of Cincinnati who can read."

What is the image here? That the government is on the side of the Negroes and the trade unions are against them.

Other headlines read: "Trade Union Bias Found Unchecked;" "Apprenticeship Plan Excludes Minority Workers." "California Panel Finds Union Bias." "U.S. Warns Union on Training Bias. Sets Compliance Deadline for 500-Apprentice Plan." "Union Accused at State Hearing." One of the most scandalous of all is the following: "Negroes Upheld in Sheetmetal Apprentice Test." This was a test in which, of a total of 147 applicants, 24 were Negroes. Of these, 17 passed with the highest grades. But the union contested the examination as not being reflective of the aptitudes of these Negroes, and the court had to hand down a decision that the test was all right and that these youngsters do have some intelligence. Again, the court against the union. And again, it is the electrical workers' union, the plumbers' union and other building trades unions that are cited as the chief culprits. And these are only a small fraction of the newspaper headlines and articles on this problem.

Thus, a comprehensive program of jobs for all workers with consideration to the special problems of the black worker is the road to reducing the effect of the pro-fascist, racist offensive. This will be dealt with in greater detail below.

There are also some new developments in the area of housing which require a fresh look. The problem of housing as a generator of conflict between black and white workers dates back to the end of World War II. Prior to the war's end, a great deal of interracial activity had been built up on the job level in industry. But at that time the ghettos had not enlarged too much and there was not too much pressure to break out, and inasmuch as the black and white workers found so much in common on the job fighting the boss for better working conditions, friction was at a minimum.

In the postwar years, both the black and white workers accumulated some small savings with which to purchase a home. Large and continuous migrations of Negroes from the South resulted in the already overcrowded ghettos becoming altogether unlivable, and the Negro began a struggle to break out. Those with enough capital sought home ownership in white neighborhoods. The Supreme Court in 1949 ruled out restrictive covenants and gave legal sanction to the breaking up of the overcrowded ghetto.

But the Negro found a "not welcome" sign as he sought refuge from slum life in other neighborhoods. More often than not such signs took the form of mobs, or other forms of violence. The black worker now found his white working-class brother a part of the mobs, and this increased his distrust of all whites. Thought he, "Yesterday I believed that this man was my friend; today I find him in the camp of my enemies."

After a number of skirmishes in most cities, white Americans fled to suburbia. The ghettos were enlarged, and in most instances Negroes occupied the entire center of the city.

Today the problem has been compounded. The migrations from the South did not cease. They continued to the point where, in a number of cities, Negroes are in the process of becoming the majority of the population. And now the overcrowded conditions are forcing some Negroes to seek a solution in suburbia. The marches led by Dr. King in Chicago last year unleashed a fury on the part of whites not witnessed in recent years. Whites who fled from the city center several years ago now find themselves again hemmed in. Not even the suburbs give them peace from this ongoing black invasion.

This is the process taking place on the housing front which engenders racist onslaughts against black people anew. Behind it is an economic problem coupled with racist ideology of long standing.

Thus, racism is propelled forward today by black people making demands which dig deeper and deeper into the war policy of the government, demands which are not only anti-imperialist but are increasingly becoming anti-capitalist. It is accelerated by many liberals joining the ultra-Right attack on the movement. Racism is also fed by deteriorating economic conditions on the job and housing fronts and a failure to evolve a comprehensive program to meet these new problems. Resulting therefrom is greater friction between black and white.

Therefore, a radical change in the status of black people, a change toward greater security and a higher standard of living for all workers, requires a radical shift from racist ideology among white workers. This is a fundamental prerequisite for building a powerful coalition of black and white in the conditions of today. And it is only through such a coalition that America is going to be saved from the catastrophes threatening it.

Racism is also a major contributor to moods of black nationalism. The recent period has also witnessed a tremendous growth in this direction.

What is the source of this trend? What is the main content? In what way does it differ from black nationalist trends of other times? What should be the attitude of Communists to this development?

~~Black nationalism today arises in part from a feeling of being rejected by the~~
white community. Historically, there have always existed two Americas, one black and one white. At the close of World War II, as we have indicated, the main thrust of the Negro movement in Northern areas was to break out of the ghetto. The main trend in the Negro community was for full integration into every institution of American life. But the Negro didn't break out of the ghetto; when they temporarily succeeded, whites fled, thus enlarging the area of ghetto life rather than eliminating it. This experience has left the Negro bitter and ever more distrustful of whites. Forced to live in the ghetto under conditions which are almost indescribable, the economic conditions of the mass of the Negro people continually worsened as those of other sections of the population, including some Negroes, got better. The contrast between affluence for a few Negroes and poverty for the mass of black people has been a driving force engendering even greater resentment of whites.

Thus many Negroes when they sum up the experiences of the last two decades, conclude that integration in the abstract will not automatically solve the problem of being black, that even in integrated houses, schools and other institutions, the Negro can and does remain a second-class citizen, with little or no say on decisions which have great meaning for his life.

In these circumstances, most Negroes have come to conclude that the exercise of freedom requires dealing with the other side from positions of strength, rather than depending on "good will" or "moral persuasion."

Another factor of no small importance is the discovery by many Negroes that they had been brain-washed by a white-led society. They had been led to believe that their ancestral background came from levels of social organization not much higher than animal life. Today, as they witness Africans playing a major role in all the affairs of mankind, this evokes from them a feeling of great pride in their own race, in the color of Black, and brings out a deep desire for greater identity with their past. Previous tendencies to try to escape the "sin" of being black are now replaced with an emphasis on being black.

These moods are also in the background of the slogan of "black power" and the emphasis of control over ghetto life. Most whites do not comprehend these psychological factors and feel rejected when Negroes place their emphasis in this direction.

A third factor producing a black nationalist path of development is the rise of three major categories of people in the ghetto. One category consists of the more recent waves of migrants from the South who are forced to go on relief or who find employment of the most menial nature in the service industries, where the pay is often less than what people receive on relief. People who fall in this category are called the underemployed. In most cases they are people who came from the rural South with little or no industrial experience; and in the North they work mostly in unorganized shops where their contacts with unions or with whites are minimal. And even when they are in unions, these are mostly unions headed by racketeers who work with the bosses to keep them in their unenviable position. People in this category make up a large segment of most black communities.

An NALC found that hundreds of thousands in the Chicago area earn less than \$3,000 a year. They are employed in industries such as apparel, merchandising, laundry and dry cleaning, hospitals, repair services, etc. The survey concludes: "In the greater Chicago area, at least 515,000 are working poor; of these, at least 400,000 live in the city of Chicago, the overwhelming part in the slums and ghettos."

The Negro population in Chicago is estimated at anywhere between 800,000 to 1,000,000. The underemployed represent at least one-third of this population. This group feels totally alienated from white society and isn't interested in building interracial life. It is therefore a major source of present-day nationalism.

Another category which engenders a drive toward nationalism is Negro youth, both the students and the unemployed.

In his book Slums and Suburbs, written in 1961 (before the ghetto uprisings), James B. Conant said of these strata:

In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population showed that roughly 70 per cent of the

The magnitude of the problem is appalling and the challenge to our society is clear . . . We are allowing social dislocation to accumulate in our large cities.

Since this survey was made, the figures have no doubt increased. This means that another large sector of the black community has grown up with little or no work experience.

The third grouping is Negro business. Classically, the rise of a native capitalist class within the nation has been the main springboard of nationalism. J. V. Stalin once observed: "The bourgeoisie learns its nationalism in the struggle for the market."

The Negro question in the U.S. cannot be treated in a mechanical fashion. There are, we we have noted, other transmission belts of nationalism. Nonetheless, the struggle of the black bourgeoisie to share in the market among its own people is one of the significant drives of present-day nationalism. The black ghetto bourgeoisie, mainly petty bourgeoisie, has grown in a number of communities in the last twenty years. Some black-owned enterprises are already in competition with white-owned companies.

Whereas formerly Negro capital was mainly invested in non-production enterprises, today there has been a marked increase in the field of production. The new capital formation has been mainly in the field of cosmetics and food-processing. Here and there one finds investments in other areas of production, but they are the exception.

The growth of the black bourgeoisie in recent times has taken two paths. There has been a considerable enlargement of one section employed as professional workers, in government agencies on the one hand, and of another section engaged in direct commercial enterprises on the other. The former tends toward individual integration as the solution; the latter sees an expanding ghetto and a growing market as a source of their greater development as capitalists. It therefore calls upon progressives to help them gain a greater share of the volume of business done in the ghetto. Whatever divisions exist in this category, most black businesses encourage the black power concept and help to feed nationalist sentiments.

These categories -- the unemployed, the underemployed, the youth and business -- represent a very large section of the total black population in most major cities. Their very existence and life experience mitigate against a working-class outlook. This situation, therefore, provides the main social base, the main springboard for black nationalism today.

In what way does present-day nationalism differ from that of the past? Regarding this trend, Harry Schwartz of the New York Times writes the following:

Black nationalism is not an entirely new phenomenon. In the 1920s Marcus Garvey's project for moving American Negroes to Africa won the support of hundreds of thousands of black men and women. . . . Since World War II the Black Muslims have shown that a mass Negro movement of some proportions could be built on a form of black separatism and hatred of whites.

But what then is the content of the present wave?

First: It certainly is not a repetition of the escapist utopian schemes conceived by a Garvey in the 1920s.

Second: It is certainly not our former conception of what would happen in the Black Belt of the South, notwithstanding some similarities that flowed from that situation and which are very much present in today's movement.

Third: At the present time it is not the Elijah Muhammad approach, although that factor is there, and could under some circumstances be greatly enlarged.

The central thrust of this movement has not been directed against the white community indiscriminately, even though most use the term "whitey." Its major

pitch has been against the power of the state -- the police apparatus, the ruling circles -- and against business elements within the ghetto. There are few instances where Negroes have ganged up and beaten whites promiscuously in their communities, as was the case in race riots in the early 1920s. The Negro is not seeking a confrontation along such lines today.

The following description of nationalism presented by Barbara Ward, an internationally known political analyst, portrays the main content of this movement:

We know that the passionate desire of men to see themselves as equal with other human beings without distinction of class, or sex, or race, or nationhood is one of the driving forces of our day and I believe it is the taproot of modern nationalism. For this reason nationalism today comes to us in great measure in the form of equality, the equality of nations one with each other, the equality of esteem and prestige that comes from not being run by other nations. This is one of the great drives of our world and when we discuss nationalism, I think it is legitimate to unite it with the idea of equality.

Thus, at present the main content of black nationalism is of a progressive character. It does not exclude Negro-white unity, but it demands that such unity be meaningful and between equal partners. Roscoe Proctor was correct when he wrote:

Total integration is a recognized valid concept and is the ultimate goal of most black power advocates. Their desire to build black power is a practical recognition of a necessary process through which a genuine integration can be achieved. ("Notes on 'Black Power' Concept," Political Affairs, March 1967.)

This is also what is underlined by SNCC. They do not reject the necessity of coalition. And so, I would say that the predominant content of today's nationalism is not anti-white. It is distrustful of whites and has little confidence in their goodwill. True, whatever goodwill toward whites still exists in the black communities is evaporating very quickly, and what was the case yesterday may not be so tomorrow. But this analysis is being made on the basis of what is presently the case.

What should be the attitude of the CPUSA to these new nationalist currents? First of all, we must draw a line between nationalism and nationalism. The old folks have a saying, "Everybody talking about heaven ain't going there." To paraphrase this, we may say, "Everybody talking black, everybody promoting nationalism, don't really reflect the needs of black people."

Nationalism, historically appearing in many different climes, in many different forms, in many different forms, in many different tongues, through many different colors, assumes either a progressive path of development, or a reactionary one. There is no third way.

In present-day circumstances, we must draw a line between what is progressive and what is reactionary. The brand of nationalism expressed by the Black Muslim movement is basically a reactionary path. We can understand and sympathize with the conditions which are at the root of this movement. We can hail the many positive strengths which it generates, such as race pride and the dignity it conveys to its members. We feel that its members can make important contributions to the general welfare such as the courageous opposition to the war in Vietnam by Muhammad Ali.

But when the movement encourages non-participation in day-to-day struggles for partial demands, when it calls for complete separation of the races on all levels, when it demeans everybody with a white face, when it glorifies everybody with a black face--then, clearly, it is out of touch with reality and leads up a blind alley. Furthermore, wittingly or not, it helps to lay the basis for genocidal treatment of the American Negro. For the divisions among black and white at that level can only pave the way for an American brand of fascism.

We entertain hopes that these trends can be overcome and that the organization can take its place as a positive force for black freedom. At the same time, this analysis does not call for total rejection of everything the Muslims stand for. Even their ultimate goal, a black-led republic within continental United States, if manifested by a large segment of the black community in a socialist America, would be honored if American Communists had anything to do about it. Moreover, under such conditions, a separate state would receive the fullest economic, political and social cooperation, to make of it truly a free and prosperous community.

But the basic content of the main waves of nationalism, as we have shown, is progressive and goes in the direction of a struggle against capitalism and imperialism. As such, we support it and will do all within our power to help achieve the goals the black freedom fighters place.

We especially identify with our people in finding beauty in being black, pride in being black, and in seeking to reclaim much of a lost culture and heritage. This usage of the term "black" as applied to our people is a rejection of a former notion of black as being synonymous with evil, the devil, disaster or other undesirable things. We identify with this urge, notwithstanding that many of us will still use the words "black," "Afro-American" or "Negro" interchangeably.

But while we generally associate ourselves with the progressive content of nationalism, we do not uncritically embrace every tactic or method used by people who can be regarded as generally progressive. There are many situations in which, as a matter of principle, we are compelled to disagree. We reject those concepts in our ranks which fail to identify with the new nationalist urges among the people, but we likewise reject those opportunist trends which embrace uncritically everything that is advanced under a nationalist cover. This latter point is important because, while a trend may be progressive today, it may also contain seeds which would make it reactionary tomorrow. Failure to fight a minor disease today can open the door to a major disease tomorrow. Thus, it is necessary to fight colds as insurance against more serious developments.

In summary, we reject reactionary versions of black nationalism. We seek a progressive direction. We also fight reactionary tendencies within a generally progressive trend. Finally, we seek to infuse a greater class content into the movement generally, for only in this way can there be a sustained progressive development to a higher form of social organization, to a form of society that will eradicate all manifestations of racism, chauvinism, reactionary nationalism and provide for the full flowering of the Brotherhood of Man.

The struggle against nationalism of a reactionary character is a requirement for the building of a coalition of black and white, which is required to save America from impending catastrophe.

The new stage of the freedom struggle is marked by a growing crisis in techniques and methods. Those which sufficed yesterday are inadequate to meet the demands posed by the black people's movements today; consequently, much confusion exists as to what to do to compel substantial changes.

Floyd McKissick, executive director of the Committee on Racial Equality, calls for discarding the demonstration form of struggle. He says: "The nation does not respond to non-violent demonstrations." McKissick says he knows because he has taken part in "at least fifty of them."

Martin Luther King, after the outbreak of violence on the West Side of Chicago last year, said that the power structure responds with concessions only to acts of violence. And he now calls for a massive civil disobedience campaign.

Julian Bond, youthful black legislator from Georgia, has been quoted as saying that nothing is left to the Negro but to resort to violence, although he also noted that nothing would be achieved by violence. Some of the younger radicals around the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, like Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown, appeal for guerrilla warfare within the ghettos and cities in the United States. These young people take notice of the growing conspiracy on the part of the government, as well as ultra-Right organizations, but a program of mass annihilation of black people. In this regard, their call to arms is still of a defensive nature.

The Carmichaels and Browns have been greatly inspired by the guerrilla methods in Vietnam. Here they see a poor, backward, undeveloped nation, using some of the most primitive methods of warfare, holding at bay the most powerful military force in human experience. They are likewise propelled in the direction of looking toward armed struggle by the Cuban Revolution, which started with a small band of guerrillas. From these facts they deduce that a black minority, led by militant, armed groups in the United States, can do no less than the former colonial peoples have done.

However, they overlook one important factor, namely, the support given the guerrillas by the overwhelming majority of the people. The guerrilla movement in Cuba was successful because it was supported in the countryside and in the cities by the majority of the Cuban people. What was true in Cuba is a thousand times more true in Vietnam.

Can it be successfully argued that an armed struggle in present conditions in the U.S. would enjoy the active or passive support by anything like a majority of the American people? Clearly not. Under such circumstances, the resort to arms of an offensive nature could only lead to suicide. Our people have fought too hard and too long to reach this point, to throw everything away in a suicidal action. The goal of the struggle must be victory, not defeat.

Black people are free today in Cuba through armed struggle, but it was struggle by an army composed of all kinds of Cubans and not just black Cubans. Indeed, there was only one Negro with Castro in the mountains initially. Hence, black people did not free themselves in Cuba by just their willingness to die. The political climate was right and there was support for the armed struggle in depth. Those from afar who counsel black people in the United States to take up arms as the road to freedom, regardless of the political circumstances, do the Negro people, as well as themselves, a great disservice.

Dr. King was not entirely correct when he said that the power structure responds with concessions only to violence. The stubborn facts are that the powers that be have not responded to any form of struggle with anything more than very minor concessions.

Struggles of great turbulence have raged in the nation's ghettos for the last three years; hundreds of millions of dollars in property have been destroyed. There has been an unprecedented loss of life, an unprecedented number of people injured, arrested and jailed. But the balance sheet in terms of results is no different than that of the period which was characterized by non-violent demonstrative forms of action. Thus, it is not a matter of choice between violent or non-violent struggles; the problem is much more difficult and complex than that.

The Communist Party of the United States has had considerable experience in dealing with the question of force and violence. Beginning in 1948, and throughout the decade of the 1950s, we were hounded, persecuted and prosecuted as being in league with a foreign power to overthrow this government by force and violence. Over a hundred and thirty Party leaders were convicted under the Smith Act. Many of them served several years in jail. Some of the young radicals may not remember this period, known to history as the era of McCarthyism. Perhaps some of them were too young to know what went on. But in any case, they should ponder over the experiences of those years, which can be useful as a guide to action today.

Throughout the Smith Act trials we Communists never renounced force and violence per se. We said that at certain historical moments the necessity for armed struggle may be present. But we held that we were not guilty of a conspiracy to employ force and violence, nor were we guilty of teaching and advocating the necessity of the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Furthermore, we stated, we seek a socialist change through peaceful means. But if it should become impossible to solve the problems by peaceful means, if the ruling class should block the channels of democratic expression, we would unhesitatingly call for the overthrow of such a government by all possible means, including armed struggle. To this approach American Communists still hold.

The present wave of violent actions in the black ghettos by black people is of a defensive nature, and the right of the black people to defend themselves even by

force of arms should be supported by all in the country who stand against injustice. However, it is one thing to defend oneself from attack by all necessary means, and it is another to choose this way as the main method of battle. As Communists pointed out in various Smith Act trials, there may well come a time when other forms of struggle must be supplemented by armed struggle. But this should not be dealt with as if it were a universal necessity. It is a matter of time, place and circumstances.

Before anyone begins talking about the necessity for armed guerrilla warfare in the cities of the United States, an assessment should be made as to whether all other forms have become obsolete and incapable of meeting the problems. If this is found to be the case, then revolutionary forces should prepare for such struggles. But if not, proposals for armed action can have fatal consequences. History records many examples of successful uprisings; but it also records that premature and un-called for actions along this line have led minority groups to slaughter and caused movements to be set back for many years. Such an important question, therefore, should not be dealt with off the top of one's head.

A superficial examination of the present moment could lead to conclusions that we have reached the point where all other methods have failed. For twelve long years the black community, especially in the South, has been engaged in massive non-violent methods of struggle. The demonstrations of this period have no parallel in American history. The demonstrators have also shown a patience that has few parallels. Unarmed men, women and children have flung themselves before the power structure almost as sacrificial offerings; they have been murdered, beaten, jailed and set upon with ferocious dogs and cow prods; they have been the victims of the most savage and inhuman terror. And now, twelve years later, the balance sheet shows only token gains. Jim Crow and segregation are still a basic part of American life.

Our youth have seen their cries for relief go unheeded by the white-led power structure. This has impelled some of them to call for more violent methods.

Another factor which weighs heavily in the negative attitude of some freedom fighters toward demonstrations and other milder forms of struggle is their discovery that to win their full goals the social system of capitalism will have to be changed. Some of them conclude that since capitalism is the source of the problem, then why engage in actions that at best bring only temporary relief.

If capitalism is the source of the inferior status of black people, it would indeed follow that only with the elimination of the system can Negroes gain equality. In a general sense, this is true. But from this truth, some wrong and harmful conclusions are drawn.

There are some on the Left who advance the idea that no substantial change in the Negro's status is possible in the capitalist framework, that only token gains can be made. For example, Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy, in their book, Monopoly Capital (Monthly Review Press, New York 1966), say the following: "Today Negroes are on the bottom, and there is neither room above nor anyone ready to take their place. Thus, only individuals can move up, not the group as such. Reforms help the few, not the many." (p. 279.)

If the Negro people's movement accepted this viewpoint, the struggle would be set back for generations to come. To tell the Negro masses that only a few individuals can move upward so long as capitalism exists, is to tell them to sit around and wait until socialism comes on the agenda, or until then just to propagandize for socialism in the abstract.

To bring about socialism requires a process of struggle varying according to the given conditions. Those who advocate a policy which sees no progress for the masses under capitalism are like a farmer who expects a bumper crop although he tilled no soil, planted no seeds and cultivated no plants.

The road to a socialist reorganization of society is no longer a matter of hypothesis or guess-work. One-third of the world has taken the socialist path and another sector among the newly-liberated countries is heading in that direction. Thus, we have before us a wealth of experience. And as the struggle for socialism spreads to the rest of the world, new experiences will be added.

Within that framework, however, there are some universal truths that have stood the test of time.

Among these is the fact that the struggle for socialism develops in the framework of democratic struggles within the capitalist system. In all instances where the socialist struggle was successful, it was preceded by a stage of struggle for radical shifts or changes within the old society. The classical form this has taken is the struggle for bourgeois democracy.

Today in the United States, the Negroes' struggle for equality is essentially a democratic struggle. And in this struggle, it is possible to change his status substantially, short of socialism. Indeed, the balance sheet of struggle for the last fifteen years has in some areas already passed beyond tokenism.

The desegregation of public places, both in the North and the South, represents a substantial change. With regard to the role of Negroes in sports, too, the change has been substantial. Negro employment in government services has taken a qualitative leap forward and is more than token.

It is true that in an over-all sense the Negroes' gain in the last period has been minimal. But substantial changes have nevertheless been made. And given increased struggle by all segments of the American people, substantial progress in the economic and political fields can also be made that will go beyond tokenism.

Some argue that placing the question in this way can only feed illusions in the capitalist system. Now, it is true that the winning of reforms under capitalism can temporarily create such illusions. But it is also true that the ongoing struggle for reforms can increasingly expose the limitations of the system and lead to greater consciousness of the need to change it.

However much one may understand the background which drives our youth to guns, sober judgment calls for presentation of an approach which can win results. This means bringing the struggle down to its common denominator.

The main problems of the people in the ghettos revolve around income and power. The Negro is the victim of a hierarchy of superexploitation which involves wages, prices, rents, interest rates and other means of extracting profits. His problem on the economic front calls for the kind of actions which can consistently narrow down the area of superexploitation. It means building up many different forms of organization on the economic front.

In the political arena, the main problem is not how to get a response from the power structure as it presently exists. The problem is how basically to change this structure. This is more difficult. It is less dramatic than a gun battle in the street; it requires much more painstaking work. But it has been wisely said: "The race is not always won by those who run the fastest, but by those who can endure to the end."

It is one of the ironies of our time that those same forces who have done so much to shake up our society, who correctly placed the question of power on the agenda, now wander afield. They proceed on another journey at a time when what they urged yesterday is coming on the agenda. All over this country black people are expressing their independence of the old-line political parties and are preparing actions which can propel Negroes much deeper into the political section of the power structure.

Today, a Hatcher, a Stokes, a Willis make the race for mayor in three large cities. They are the harbingers of future black mayors in a large number of American cities. The Freedom Democratic Party, a creature of the young radicals, stands on the threshold of great electoral victories. We are about to reap the harvest from the voter registration drive which represented so many years of effort. And now some are losing faith in this path of development and call for the more dramatic action--the resort to arms.

Now, the election of Negroes to mayoralties and other high offices will not automatically lead to an improvement of the conditions of the masses. At present a struggle is being waged to determine who will control these officials. The ruling circles are reading the handwriting on the wall and are taking steps to guarantee

full control, regardless of who gets elected. This is the meaning of the support given Stokes in Cleveland by some of the business community, as well as the support from the top command of the Democratic Party. This is also in the background of the support being given Hatcher in Gary by top circles of the party, notwithstanding the fact that local Democrats are giving support to the Republican candidate. Dedicated freedom fighters must not refrain from these struggles because of these ruling class maneuvers, however. On the contrary, the situation dictates the need for maximum effort to get representatives who will be responsive to the people, not to the white power structure.

Therefore, the effort at the ballot box to alter the present relationship of forces in the government apparatus is the main direction the struggle must take. In pursuance of the goal of reducing the area of superexploitation and of enhancing political power, a multiplicity of forms and techniques of struggle will be needed.

Some of these struggles will be non-violent; others may occasion the defensive use of violence. But in any case, the main weapons that black folks can use include, first, their labor power, their ability to halt production and reduce the profits of the big corporations. Second, they include their consumer power, their ability to disturb the profits of those firms which practice discrimination. And finally, they include their political power which, if wisely used, can compel some meaningful changes even in the framework of the capitalist system. Socialism is the final solution, but the struggle for limited goals today will pave the way to a full solution tomorrow.

To build a coalition of black and white requires full utilization of all forms of power that the people possess. It also requires avoiding escapist illusions, of which the enemy can and will make good use. Our nation can surmount its crises only if all the people find appropriate forms of struggle and act in concert.

Illumination of our task requires a review of our work in the last ten years. Of course, such a review must of necessity be limited, especially when we have before us so many pressing current problems.

There are some among us who say that we have had a wrong line for the last ten years. I wish to challenge this appraisal as not being in accord with the facts. That there were certain inadequacies in our line is very evident; there are many things that we did not foresee. But any appraisal must be made against a backdrop of what is and is not readily observable. Otherwise, the Party line becomes a line that is all-seeing. Such an idea is non-Marxist. I would only say that when we are dealing with such questions we should say that in the present circumstances the following is the case; tomorrow, in a different set of circumstances, something else may be the case. But as of now we operate on the basis of what we can see.

Those who speak of a wrong line say in essence that we should have retained the slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt. My answer to that is categorically "no." We were 100 per cent correct in dropping the slogan of self-determination. Having done so, we proceeded to state further that the Negro question is still a national question. The resolution of the 17th National Convention says:

To conclude that the Negro people in the United States are not a nation is not to say that the Negro question in our country is not a national question. It is indeed a national question. The question is, however, a national question of what type, with what distinguishing characteristics, calling for what strategic concept for its solution.

But though we retained the concept of the national character of the question, we failed to probe deeper and to outline in depth the nature of the national question as it is manifested today and as it may possibly be manifested tomorrow.

Some of us were involved in formulating the above paragraph and inserting it into the text of the resolution. But we didn't define the distinguishing characteristics, although we knew it wasn't the same as the national question in relation to any other minority group, also that it wasn't the same as it was when we talked about a nation in the Black Belt.

One source of weakness in our Party is that when we adopt a so-called general line, it answers everything. Lines must be constantly fed and implemented. Notwithstanding the formulation in the resolution characterizing the problem as national in character, we underestimated the possibilities of a continued growth in this direction. We underestimated the effects of the accumulated years of material developments toward nationhood in the South, as well as the significance of some of the concepts that we had put forward. We interpreted too mechanically the undermining of the nation in the Black Belt by migration into the cities and into the North. We expected changes more in the direction of the class character of the struggle and less in the direction of the national character.

But things did not go that way. When we say that the majority of the Negroes are now in the industrial proletariat, that the main center of the problem now lies not in the peasantry but in the proletariat, we must remember that ideological changes usually lag behind material changes. But we overlooked the fact that certain national attributes that the Negro was evolving in his Black Belt experience could spill over when he came North.

We were also slow in understanding that the motive factor promoting nationalism in the black community with these migrations was the same as that which operated after World War I, when the rise of Garveyism took place. Then, too, the Negro fled from the South to the North and instead of finding the "promised land," he found Jim Crow, segregation, and conditions in the North as miserable as in the South. His disillusionment laid the foundation for Garvey to preach "Go back to Africa." As he saw things, in the words of the poet Ted Ward, "America is one big white fog so thick and impenetrable that a black man can never get through it."

What took place after World War I has been repeated under new conditions in the forties, fifties and sixties. The wave of migration of Negroes from the South to the North has become a continuous process, especially with the growing displacement of Negroes in agriculture.

It is interesting to see what happens to the migrants. On the South Side of Chicago there have been no eruptions of a major character. It is on the West Side that these have taken place. There the population consists mainly of Negroes recently from the South who are mainly employed not in steel, auto, farm equipment or other mass production industries, but at the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the service industries. They are mainly unorganized and have had no union experience. They have had little or no association with whites except to see them on the job, and then go back to the ghetto. They constitute most of the people on the relief rolls, most of the ADC cases, etc. On the other hand, a large segment of the South Side inhabitants are older residents who have been in the city 30 or 40 years, who have seniority in some industries, and who have accumulated some savings and live relatively well.

There seems to be an attitude that the Negroes are polarized by the existence of extreme poverty at one end and the rise of a middle class at the other. But there is also a category of workers in between who are mainly in unions and have evolved a certain degree of trade union and class consciousness.

Thus, it is clear that changes in the occupational status, especially in the area of the underemployed, do not automatically lead to trade union or working-class consciousness. This, too, is part of the raw material out of which an explosive growth of nationalism has already evolved.

There was nothing in our line that would have prohibited us from understanding in greater depth the possibilities of a new and broader wave of black nationalism. The problem, I repeat, is that general line and policy must be constantly checked to see what is new, what is aborning, and on this basis to make the necessary adjustments to correspond to the new realities.

In addition to our failure to understand and anticipate the present wave of nationalism, we have historically underestimated the role of color, of race, of oppression as driving forces for Negro nationalism. We have tried to explain this trend from the definition Stalin gave of a nation as an historically evolved community having in common language, geography, economic life and psychological make-up. This definition is generally sound, but in dealing with the American Negro, we are dealing with

a people that has a history different from any other people on earth. And fully to understand his make-up, we must take into consideration that here color, race and oppression operate independently of Stalin's definition.

I have dwelt on our weaknesses in this connection in order to draw lessons for the present and the future. The Proctor article, which foresees another decade of the continued growth of black nationalism, could lead us to repeat today the same error as yesterday. It is conceivable that tomorrow, under new and different stimuli, the present trend toward nationalism could evaporate and give way to greater cohesion between black and white. Our Party at all times should be prepared for all eventualities.

While we did not foresee some of these developments, our line was sufficient to have given us a better grasp of events. We were groping along the way when the Muslim movement appeared on the scene as a serious force. And we evolved an approach which, if we had followed through, would have led us to a much different situation. At that time we wrote:

The growth of nationalism in a distorted form is also a reaction to the distortions of the theory of integration. There is an old Chinese proverb which says: "Two men sleep in the same bed but dream different dreams." This can also be said about integration. To some, integration means assimilation. It means the abolition of the Negro communities as such. It means liquidation of the so-called Negro entirely into an Anglo-Saxon melting pot. To some it means tokenism - the advancement of a few Negroes into positions of influence, while the Negro masses remain essentially in the same position. There is no contradiction between integrating Negroes into every phase of American life and the removal of the whole structure of jim crow and segregation and the continued existence of large concentrations of Negro people.

In the present American political power structure the maintenance of large Negro communities will be a necessity. This will be necessary not only for cultural purposes but also for protecting gains made in the struggle for integration. This should in no way be interpreted as a continuation of the ghetto with all its dehumanizing features. The ghetto must be destroyed and interracial communities must be built, but at the same time Negro communities will and should remain as outposts of political power from which the Negro can sit in councils of political affairs with equal voice.

How long this condition will remain will be determined by what happens in the whole body politic or on the completeness with which people are judged on their merits and not their color. For example, the political structure in every major Northern city is composed of combinations of national groups. The Irish in Chicago is the only group which now wields power not based on its numerical or voting strength. When the Negro can do the same there will be no need for emphasis of this point.

This was written in 1961, several years before the "black power" slogan came on the scene. Based on this thinking, in 1964 the Negro Affairs Commission issued the first comprehensive program designed by any group to alleviate conditions in the black ghettos. Later on, the Organization Department selected several ghettos as places of concentration. Among them were Watts and the West Side of Chicago.

Here again, the problem was not our line. It can be said that we anticipated some of the explosions. But even so, we didn't realize the imminence and depth of those that followed a year or two later; for if we had, I'm certain we would have given more serious attention to the concentration areas we had set down on paper.

There have been many other weaknesses in our work that time does not permit us to examine in detail. We shall touch on only a few of them. Among them is a growth of conservatism in our ranks which has slowed down our ability to assess what is really new in a given situation. We become subjective and believe that be-

The independent role of our Party during these last years also requires some analysis. We came through the Smith Act trials and the McCarran Act persecutions with some battle scars which require removal.

We lost the art of taking timely initiatives. We blurred over the possibility for our Party to continue to play a pioneering role, an independent role. Elements of tailism set in as we sat on the sidelines and waited for others to act. During this period we also failed to find ways and means of developing constructive critical approaches in both the house of labor and the civil rights movement.

In regard to the latter, it was late in the day before we saw the necessity for a really critical approach to the leadership of the NAACP. It was only after the Association's 1965 convention in Denver that we began to become sharply critical of this leadership. We opposed A. Philip Randolph only on the issue of red-baiting; but his actions to keep the NALC a small apparatus that he could control went on without a murmur from us. His tendencies to give in to George Meany without some solid commitments was also a weakness that we failed to take note of.

Even in the case of Dr. Martin Luther King, who embraces a philosophy which differs from Marxism, our policy failed to combine endorsement of his tactical line with criticism of his non-violent concepts. Thus, we left the field to Malcolm X who now, in martyrdom, has become a man of great stature.

Even now there are those in our ranks who seek to imitate the young radicals without any thought of their inadequacies, or of anything that we as Communists can add.

In the coming period our Party must find ways and means of identifying itself with all advanced progressive forces, but at the same time we must, as a matter of principle, express our differences whenever we have them. Our criticism must be friendly and precise, and we must avoid name-calling and pinning labels on people. Nor should our criticism be put forward as if it were the last word on the matter--as if we had just walked out of a conference with God and emerged with the final answer.

All this points up the necessity for us to understand clearly what the main needs of the people's movements are, and to determine in what way our Party can be useful, what it can add to the work that others are not geared or ideologically equipped to contribute. It is in this way that we shall perform our vanguard role in the conditions of today's struggles.

The central question on which we must focus is how to establish a lasting and durable coalition of black and white on various levels, but particularly in the working class.

In the 1930s we pioneered the path that led to a new birth of Negro and white unity at the grass-roots level. This unity was the main force which compelled a number of concessions to the broad masses. And it was undoubtedly the main force which at that time prevented America from goose-stepping alongside of Hitler and the Axis powers.

Sinclair Drake and Horace Cayton document this contribution in their celebrated work Black Metropolis. They write:

During the early thirties marchers in left wing demonstrations.. carried placards ...black and white unite.... Close interracial cooperation became associated in the popular mind with the Reds... Negroes and whites...have always cooperated...but usually in white employer-Negro employee relations or as Negro leader-white patron. These Communist slogans signified something that was new...a small band of white men proclaiming as a goal complete unity of Negro and white workers in a joint struggle to build a new society. Not even the abolitionists had stood for that.

These actions became the property of vast masses with the birth of the CIO and other developments. The Communist Party made many contributions during this period, but the most important of them was to galvanize unity between black and

Today, almost forty years later, we must once again pioneer new fields. The struggle for Negro and white unity must go forward today in new forms. Yesterday's approach is too mild to meet the problems of this stormy period. The question is no longer one of just talking about black and white unity; the problem now is how to forge such unity on the basis of complete equality for black people. The problem now is to help guarantee equality of a black minority in a white-majority society. This is the general goal to be fought for.

But to reach that goal a fundamental prerequisite is the demonstration in action by white Americans of good faith toward their black brothers when they converge together in a common struggle. This means that in interracial organizations in general and in the trade union movement in particular, Communists must not and cannot remain at peace with forces who fail to grasp this fundamental truth. This means that our Party must gear itself to be an effective force in leveling all barriers to an equal say by black people on all matters pertaining to the general welfare. And on those problems facing the people of the ghetto, black people and they alone must decide what is to happen. Advice and counsel, yes. But the decisions must be theirs.

This objective is very easy to put on paper, but is extremely difficult to realize in everyday life. There are no easy answers. All our clubs, district boards, commissions and other Party bodies including the national committee must keep this problem before them as a permanent feature on every agenda. If we concentrate our attention on this we will come up with answers as to how to do the job. We will make mistakes along the way, but they will be the kind of mistakes which arise out of an aggressive drive to find solutions. In a general way we know what must be done; we know that the approach cannot rest on moral persuasion, but must be based mainly on self-interest. We also know that some people cannot understand self-interest until they are confronted with a crisis. If this is what has to be, then we should have no hesitation in creating a crisis.

Let us take the building trades unions and some other craft unions. They are the main barriers to the upgrading of Negro workers. Here it is not just a problem of bad union leadership. Many of the rank and file also believe that Negroes in apprenticeship training and as journeymen will constitute a threat to their jobs. In some circumstances, they must be shown that when they fail to fight for their black brothers, this is the most dangerous threat to their jobs and wage standards.

The Negro masses are restless. In order to keep alive lines of coalition with their white brothers, they have had to concede most often; they have had to remain silent about discrimination in the interest of trade union unity. For forty years or more the ruling class has not been able to play black and white against each other in strike struggles. But this reservoir of good will for the trade unions is drying up and unless some radical changes take place, the bosses may succeed in doing what they did during and after World War I, when they brought Negroes in from the plantations to break strikes. The large number of Negroes who are unemployed and underemployed, as well as the thousands of displaced agricultural workers in the South, provide fertile ground for such developments today. We are not arguing for this line of approach, but we must face realities even though they are sometimes distasteful.

Thus, one of the chief ideological weapons for bringing white skilled workers to understand where their real interests lie, is to make them aware of the danger that the bosses may use differences between black and white workers to destroy unions altogether. White Americans in general and white workers in particular must also come to understand that the growing attack against the Negro in the ghettos should be a warning signal to them, too. The bell also tolls for them. If the government and ultra-Right forces succeed in creating a race war in the country the aftermath could well be a police state in which no one would have any rights, and the AFL-CIO could be replaced by a fascist labor front.

We should discuss at this conference what we can do to reverse the present trends in the building trades unions. We should also discuss the question of how to develop a drive to organize the unorganized workers in the service industries, both in the South and in the North. It is my firm opinion that we can reverse some of the current trends toward disunity if such drives are organized among the poorest strata

When we built unity between black and white workers in the 1930s, we didn't start with the highly-paid skilled workers in the craft unions. In most cases we had to fight them with other unions, including some all-Negro unions. Our starting point was the unemployed, later the independent unions and still later the birth of the CIO. Perhaps some of the experience of that period could be useful in helping to chart a course today.

In regard to the freedom movement, the chief task and vanguard role of the Party, as expressed primarily by black Communists, must be to introduce a class content into the present wave of black nationalism. We must fight against all separatist tendencies as self-defeating. We must do so while respecting the fears black people have of being assimilated by whites. We must fight for full power in the ghettos while struggling against tendencies to go overboard in some situations.

Lately, some discussion has developed about what strata of the Negro people we base ourselves on. Inasmuch as ours is a working-class Party, our main orientation must be to work among black workers. However, concentration on the working class does not negate working closely with other strata of the Negro people. Our object should be to show these other strata why it is so vital for the whole movement to have black workers involved substantially in all struggles.

There are those in our ranks who pull in different directions with regard to the various trends within the movement. What should be our position? First, we still regard the Negro movement as an all-class movement. Hence we are interested at all times in finding common denominators which can throw the weight of the whole movement in a given direction. Occasionally an issue comes along that makes it possible to do just that. But more often the movement is beset with sharp cleavages and is split into "conservatives," "moderates" and "young militants," and must seek to reduce the influence of the conservative element.

We see positive strength in both the moderates and the young black militants. Some among us downgrade the young militants and gravitate more toward the middle or moderate forces. There should be no such gravitational pulls. Each group has its role to play. Of these young people, no matter how much we may disagree with this or that tactic, we can say no less than Robert Weaver, now a part of the establishment and certainly no radical, said at the Urban League convention last year:

Negro youth can be and has been constructive and effective in its protest. . . . The Negro protest might well have never gotten off the ground had it not been for them. . . . Thus, I do not ignore the angry words of the new militants, for their tone, their demands, their challenge. . . . their repudiation of middle class behavior are real and basic.

Both of these currents, expressing themselves around the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality, represent the hard core of the protest movement. Unity among these groups on most questions is possible and necessary. Any one of them, taken by itself, does not have the necessary striking power to isolate the conservatives and their influence.

Of course, there are times when the action of one group inspires or prods another into motion. And most of the time the initiative comes from the youth. This is only natural. However, in the long run, combined efforts of all these forces are needed to make a meaningful contribution. And if in the near future the black workers come into sharper focus, the contributions of all will be enlarged.

There are times when we as Communists will have to take issue with one or another action by this or that leader, this or that organization. But when we do, we must not underestimate the positive qualities of both the Left and center forces. Indeed, we need a criterion to distinguish who is Left and who is center. In all of these organizations there are people who see the necessity for a change in the system, and the trend is growing.

The growth of this anti-capitalist sentiment is laying the foundation for a radical shift to the Left by all of these forces. In such circumstances, I foresee the possibility of building our Party once again as an influential force.

This conference should also discuss the question of why so few young militant Negroes are joining our ranks. We should also discuss the kind of house-cleaning we need to do to attract and hold them.

In closing, let me say that notwithstanding the great difficulties, we have a rendezvous with destiny. I am confident that we and the American people will find the common path pointed out by Professor Melman. We will unite the pro-democratic forces of our country. Whites will overcome their prejudices, not because they love the Negro, but basically, I believe, because they love themselves.

Wherever there is a white bandit who attacks Negroes, white Communists will jump at his throat; wherever black people, out of frustration or other reasons, follow a no-win policy, black Communists will help them find their way.

Together, black and white Communists are going to make significant contributions toward radical changes in our society. Eventually we will build a country of freedom for all--a socialist America.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
March 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-13-2011

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTER

Reference is made to Los Angeles letterhead memorandum dated March 14, 1968, pertaining to the above captioned matter.

[redacted] Newton Street Division, Los Angeles Police Department, advised on March 17, 1968, that at 3:30 p.m. that date, a mock trial of Los Angeles Police Officer [redacted] was held at South Park, 51st and Avalon Streets, Los Angeles, California. The trial was sponsored by the Los Angeles chapter of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Wanted posters charging Carlson with murder were passed out to those in attendance and sound trucks in the immediate neighborhood advertised the trial.

[redacted], supra, stated that about 250 Negro young adults, both male and female, were in attendance, including members of SNCC and the Black Panther Party. The Los Angeles Police Department set up a command post at 54th and Avalon Streets and held about 50 police officers in reserve at that point. Plainclothes police officers were in the crowd which was orderly.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on March 17, 1968, of substantially the same information as furnished by [redacted]. However, in addition, he stated that there were some US members in attendance at this trial.

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in January 1968 that US is a militant black nationalist organization which reflects the anti-white attitude of [redacted].

[redacted] has been publically identified as founder and chairman of US whose Articles of Incorporation were filed on September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State, State of California

- 12 - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - 115th MI, Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - (3) - Los Angeles (157) (CIRM)
- (1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)
- 1 - WMB/sle
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THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTER

This second source stated that Franklin Alexander was one of those who participated in the trial proceedings that found Carlson guilty.

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on December 15, 1965, that Franklin Alexander was a member of the Medgar Evers Club, Southern California District of the Communist Party in 1965.

The second source also advised that the crowds at the trial was orderly and no incidents were observed. The meeting broke up at 6:00 p.m.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 3/18/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2197) (P*)
SUBJECT: THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTER
OO: Los Angeles

Re airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) from Los Angeles to the Bureau dated 3/14/68, and Los Angeles teletypes to the Bureau dated 3/15/68 and 3/17/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of a LHM pertaining to a demonstration of the People's Tribunal Committee which was held at Los Angeles on 3/17/68.

An extra copy of the airtel and LHM is being forwarded to the Bureau for inclusion in the CIRM file.

Local military intelligence agencies; the United States Attorney; and Secret Service, Los Angeles are being furnished copies of the attached LHM.

The sources mentioned in the LHM are identified as:

- No. 1 [redacted] who furnished information orally to SA [redacted] on 3/17/68.
- No. 2 [redacted]...documentation of US.
- No. 3 [redacted]...documentation of [redacted]

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b7D

- 4 - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)
(1 - 100-442529)
- ③ - Los Angeles (157-2197)
① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

WMB:sle
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Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

OFFICE COPY

100-66078-1459

FBI

Date:

LA 157-2197

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(Type in plaintext or code)

The attached LHM is being classified as confidential because of information furnished by the above three sources, which if divulged could reveal their identity and compromise sources of continuing value.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

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Date received <u>3/26/68</u>	Received from (name or symbol number) <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>	Received by <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 20px;"></div>
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date of Report

Date

3/23/68

Dictated _____ to _____

Date(s) of activity

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

Reprint of P.W. Editorial
entitled "Black Survival"

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:

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BLACK SURVIVAL . . . an editorial

100-66078

Black survival.

This was the issue dramatically presented to huge California audiences a couple of weeks ago by Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown and their associates.

Without understanding this issue it is not possible to understand the content and temper of what they said.

Survival has been a fundamental, long-range issue for black Americans. More than a decade ago, in a historic document titled "We Charge Genocide," the distinguished Negro Communist leader, William L. Patterson, presented to the United Nations the compilation of grim facts about the physical destruction of black Americans. Facts about the "normal" violence, legal and illegal, perpetrated

against Negroes; facts about poverty's ravages in infant mortality, in truncated life expectancy, in the toll of diseases.

Then the issue was the attempted "gradualist" destruction of a people — physical, psychological, spiritual. But now — with massive concentrations of armed men and lethal weapons against the ghettos, with recruitment of racist vigilantes, as in Chicago, to reinforce racist police power — the issue of survival assumes a grim immediacy.

It is this sense of critical urgency that underlies the young militants' "strategy for black survival."

The first point in this strategy is a "Black United Front," forging unity in the black community that cuts across class lines and other lines. Certainly this

is a pre-condition for successful struggle, and that the young black militants take the initiative in fighting for all-black unity is of supreme historical significance.

The proposed ideological framework for such unity is "black nationalism." When a people struggles for survival it is the sense of common identity and common destiny that binds them together. At this critical juncture of the freedom struggle those bonds of community do assume the form of nationalism.

Beyond cohesion, nationalism also imparts to black Americans a pride in their heritage, a self-confidence that reinforces their struggle for survival and freedom.

It is no new thought that the nationalism of an oppressed people in battle

(Continued from page 1)

against its oppressor is a progressive, revolutionary force. In our time, when nationalism is directed against U.S. imperialism, as "black nationalism" is, its revolutionary essence is underlined.

Proceeding from their nationalist premises the black militants seek alliance with other oppressed national minorities — Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Indians. The enormous power potential of such an alliance for radical change in this country's life is self-evident.

In advancing his concept of "black nationalism" Carmichael specifically excludes communism or socialism as relevant ideologies to the black struggle. We disagree on this score (as we disagree with some tactical consequences that flow from the ideological premise). But for Communists and Socialists, white or black, agreement on ideology has not been, and is not, a pre-condition for a united front with others in struggle for common objectives.

Especially when the issue is survival, when the supreme challenge is to prevent armed, murderous invasions of the ghettos, any dialogue about differences must be contained within the framework of determined, united struggle to ensure survival. Indeed, anyone who does not make this struggle paramount, who does not sense its reality and urgency, forfeits his right to engage in a dialogue about strategy and tactics.

Some fundamental ideological issues, such as the relationship between nationalism and socialism in the contemporary

revolutionary process, require treatment that exceeds the space limits of this commentary.

Some tactical issues are immediately relevant to the struggle for survival. It seems short-sighted to us, for example, to dismiss the electoral process as an arena of struggle, especially in Southern communities where black people constitute a majority, and in urban centers where they are at or near a majority level. In these circumstances there is a realistic possibility of winning bases of "black power." Not that these in themselves would solve the problems of black communities, but they certainly would sharpen the confrontation with the "white power structure," and sharpen the awareness of what needs to be done to make the fundamental changes that can secure black survival and win black freedom.

A more important difference concerns the emphasis on race and national aspects of the survival battle that excludes its class essence. For the overwhelming majority of the black people, who are workers, class exploitation is a daily reality. Moreover, the dismissal of class as a relevant factor also precludes class alliance with white workers.

The important thing here is that simply talking about black-white unity is ineffectual. The concept has to be made credible by tangible actions in the white community to support the struggle for black survival. An ounce of practical action will be more persuasive than a ton of propaganda.

Above all, the point needs to be driven

home that for white workers the struggle against racism is not simply an issue of black survival; in a basic sense, it is an issue of survival for them. Their conditions, their unions, their democratic rights are in the gravest jeopardy.

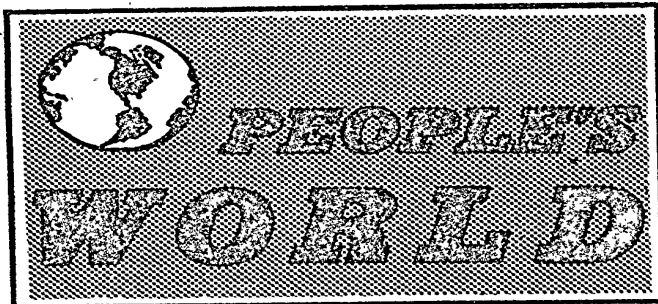
There were ominous warning signals in the several recent strikes where former attitudes of friendly support in the black community were replaced by sizeable expressions of hostility to the unions. Employers, you may be sure, exploit such divisions along race lines to the detriment of all workers.

Even such warning signs pale, however, before the prospect of what would happen to the country if all-out racist war is launched against the ghettos, if racist passions are fanned to fever pitch. What of a democratic or progressive nature would survive such a holocaust?

The fate of the entire nation has been, and still is inextricably intertwined with the fate of black Americans. The fight for black survival is a fight for whatever is democratic and progressive in the nation's past; more important, it is a fight for the greater potential of democracy and progress in its future.

This is the dimension of the challenge that faces the nation. For white Americans — radical, progressive or democratic — the fight against racism is a fight not only for black survival; it is also a fight for their own survival.

For them, solidarity in action with the black militants — holding the front lines in the fight for black survival — is a solemn duty.



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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

4/3/68

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13295) (P*)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C
(OO: Los Angeles)

Re San Diego letter 1/9/68.

No pertinent information developed since referenced letter.

San Diego will continue to follow activities of Communist Party and other subversive groups and submit quarterly report on letter as indicated.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- ① - Los Angeles (100-66078) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego

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100-66078-1479

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

April 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

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DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
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- pp. 7, 8, 11 only.

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- 12 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
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 - 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
 - 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
 - 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
 - ③ - Los Angeles (157-943)
 - ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Long Beach Independent", newspaper of Long Beach, California, issue of March 10, 1968, page A-10, was an article reporting that Howard Feldscher, a 27 year old Los Angeles hotel clerk, was trying to start a business of warning southland residents of incipient riots for a fee of \$5.00 per month. The name of his business is "Neighborhood Early Warning System"(NEWS). He plans to hire men to monitor police calls by automobile radio and to patrol potential riot areas. His organization would warn clients when a riot appeared likely. Feldscher believed his plan could help the police by warning them of potentially dangerous situations and could provide employment in the Ghetto area. The Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office, indicated they were investigating Feldscher to insure his business was legitimate.

In the "Los Angeles Times", of March 19, 1968, I-23, was an article reporting Mayor Samuel Yorty had requested the Economic and Youth Opportunities Agency (EYOA), to plan local summer job, education and recreation programs for the city with most of the \$60,000 the Federal Government gave Los Angeles for that purpose. The EYOA accepted the city contract and is working on such programs. By June 1, 1968, the EYOA will deliver the plans to the Los Angeles Department of Recreation and Parks.

COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES (CEO)

In the "Los Angeles Times", of March 19, 1968, II-1 was an article reporting the Los Angeles City Council had voted to conduct a five-day inquiry into problems of urban unrest after receiving the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. At the hearing on March 18, 1968, city Councilman Thomas Bradley, charged the city was discriminating in its hiring practices, however, Leon E. Whaley,

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Director of the Los Angeles City Human Relations Bureau, testified he could not state whether or not such discrimination existed without a study of the problem.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of March 25, 1968, II-1, was an article reporting that the Negro City Councilman, Billy G. Mills, had announced at a CEO hearing that he was encouraged by the Committee and the reactions of some city departments in their efforts to solve unrest.

In the "Los Angeles Times", of March 26, 1968, II-1, was an article reporting Police Chief Thomas Reddin, had testified before the CEO that much of the unrest in Los Angeles could be blamed on "agitators, both Communist and professional". He promised such agitators would be prosecuted wherever possible. Reddin stated his department was identifying more of the agitators and building case histories concerning them. Reddin stated many more of the agitators were professional rather than communists. He also testified he believed police-community relations had improved due in part to the fact that more men were assigned to such work.

In the "Los Angeles Times", of March 28, 1968, II-1, was an article reporting Dr. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., Director of the Los Angeles Urban League, had requested Mayor Yorty to convene an emergency "summit conference" to discuss means of reducing racial tension in the Los Angeles area. He suggested top leaders of the "private and public sectors" of the Negro and White communities meet on "the most grave crisis — the mass unemployment of black people."

He stated that in allocating jobs, opportunities should not be equal, but "preferential" for the Negro, calling this "positive discrimination".

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In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", a Los Angeles Negro weekly newspaper of March 21, 1968, page 12-B, was an article reporting that California's 49-year old Criminal Syndicalism law had been ruled unconstitutional by a three-man Federal Court. The law was invoked against John Wesley Harris, Jr., who distributed Progressive Labor Party (PLP) (see appendix) literature during the inquest into the death of Leonard Deadwyler. The Office of the Los Angeles District Attorney announced they would appeal this decision to the Supreme Court for a ruling at the highest level.

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[REDACTED]

On April 2, 1968, source one advised [REDACTED] is a member of the Executive Committee of the Los Angeles PLP (see appendix).

In the "Los Angeles Times", of March 26, 1968, I-3, was an article reporting that Governor Ronald Reagan was meeting privately with minority leaders throughout the State, in an effort to solve racial problems. He limited his meetings to "responsible leaders", and he excluded militant Mexican-Americans and Negroes, because he did not believe they had "anything to contribute." Reagan will report on the meetings when they are concluded.

HIGH SCHOOL WALKOUTS
MARCH 6-13, 1968

Beginning on March 6, 1968, students at Lincoln, Roosevelt and Garfield High Schools, a predominantly Mexican-American area in Los Angeles, walked out in protest of several grievances. The walkout spread to other high schools in the Los Angeles area up to March 13, 1968, and Jefferson High School, in a predominantly Negro area in Los Angeles, was closed from March 11, 1968, to March 13, 1968, due to a walkout and a demand by teachers of more protection for themselves. The Los Angeles Police Department blamed

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some of the protests on a militant Mexican-American group called the "Brown Berets", on two Mexican-American college student groups, and on leaflets distributed by the Students for a Democratic Society (see appendix). Subsequent school board meetings have been held to hear complaints from various student and minority groups concerning the walkout.

In the "Los Angeles Times", on March 29, 1968, I-1, was an article reporting that angry teachers from Roosevelt, Lincoln, Wilson and Garfield High School, had accused the Los Angeles City Board of education of laxity in disciplining students who had boycotted classes recently. One faculty representative stated the teachers might themselves walkout in protest because the Board did not support teachers and administrators who were attempting to uphold the State Educational Code, and because the Board specified no disciplinary action should be taken against students who participated in the boycott. The president of the student body at Roosevelt High School announced 2200 of the 2800 students at the school had signed a petition supporting the faculty. [redacted]

[redacted], at Roosevelt High School, stated he was sure a large majority of the students and faculty disagreed with the decision of the School Board and believed the Board "submitted to the intimidation of a small but militant faction".

On March 28, 1968, Source 6 advised that at a staff meeting of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (LACDBR) (see appendix), at 326 West Third Street, Los Angeles, it was announced that at the last meeting of the Mexican Committee of the LACDBR, a man named [redacted] "who lives up to his name" had given a speech describing the high school student walkouts and the demands being made by the students. The plan of the LACDBR is to try to get older parents and non-parents to support the students in their demands, so the demands will be more respectable.

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Salvadore Castro

Source 5, a high official of the Los Angeles Police Department, advised on March 28, 1968, that Castro was a student counselor at Lincoln High School, who had led the first walkout of students at that school on March 6, 1968.

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", of March 21, 1968, page 1-A, was an article reporting that an inquest had been scheduled into the death of 23 year old William Anthony Leonard in a "Deadwyler type" case wherein police responded to a call that a husband, Augustus Mallard, was threatening to shoot his wife. Officer L. N. Fultz went to the rear of the house, saw Leonard, who was baby-sitting for the Mallards, ordered him to stand still, but he ran and Officer Fultz shot him.

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of March 28, 1968, page 5-A, was an article reporting that the jury at a coroner's inquest into the death of William Leonard, had brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide against Officer Fultz, after allowing private attorneys to question witnesses at the inquest for the first time in local history.

On March 25, 1968, source who is well acquainted with activities at Manual Arts High School (MAHS), 4131 Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, advised that a group of un-named parent's organizations, including Neighborhood Adult Participation Project (NAPP) in the area, had presented a series of demands to the administrators of MAHS. The NAPP is funded by the EYOA. Among the demands presented was the creation of a student union, with powers similar to a labor union, and the demand that NAPP members sit in classes and be advisors to the teachers. Source understood the NAPP had taken the initiative in making these demands, which the school does not intend meeting.

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On March 26, 1968, source three, a prominent Negro leader in the Los Angeles area expressed concern over the recent involvement of high school students in protests in the Los Angeles area, because of their apparent immaturity and fact that they can be easily led. Source also indicated concern over the lack of intelligent thought and study of racial problems by Negro leaders, and expressed disappointment because he believed most Negro political leaders, locally were more interested in maintaining their legislative position than in improving conditions in the Negro communities.

On March 27, 1968, source four, a Negro, who is well acquainted with the criminal element in the Watts area of Los Angeles, advised he was concerned over the possibility of violence in the area during the summer of 1968. He could not give specific reasons for this feeling other than the general atmosphere of tension which exists in that area.

On April 2, 1968, source five, a high officer of the Los Angeles Police Department, advised the South Central Los Angeles area is more tense than usual, due to two recent shooting deaths of Negroes by Los Angeles Police Department Officers, however, source could not predict any racial violence at any time in the near future. Source stated the Los Angeles Police Department expects at least isolated incidents of violence during the summer, but have no firm evidence of widespread violence expected to occur at the present time.

PACOIMA, CALIFORNIA

Pacoima is a section of the city of Los Angeles, in the San Fernando Valley, which is policed by the Los Angeles Police Department.

In the "Valley News and Valley Green Sheet", newspaper of Van Nuys, California, issue of March 22, 1968, page one, was an article reporting that Dr. Reb Scott, a dentist representing the United Front Foundation in Pacoima, had advised the city council that Pacoima was a "powder keg", and his group demanded control over poverty money to be spent in Pacoima, a reduction of the police force, improved recreation facilities

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and removal or integration of an alleged "lily white" fire station in Pacoima. Other speakers complained Pacoima was not included as an area in the city's request for funds under the Model Cities Program. A spokesman replied the Pacoima and Venice areas did not qualify under the Government standard for such assistance.

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

Pasadena is a city in Los Angeles County approximately ten miles northeast of Los Angeles.

On March 14, 1968, source six advised there was a definite possibility of racial disorders in the Pasadena area. Source stated [redacted], a Negro reporter for the "People's World" (PW) newspaper, [redacted] and other individuals had been meeting with Pasadena school officials to push programs they hope will create unrest in the community. The exact nature of these programs was unknown to the source at this time.

[redacted]

Source seven advised on September 1, 1967, that [redacted] attended a meeting of the Executive Board of the Southern California District Communist Party on August 22, 1967, at 1309 South Hudson Avenue, Los Angeles. Board members present agreed Wheeldir could sit in on the meeting, even though not a member of the Communist Party (CP), since he had been ~~CP member in the past and was presently~~ speaking for the PW.

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The PW is a West Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

Source eight advised on December 22, 1967, that as of that date, [redacted] was a staff writer for the PW at the paper's Los Angeles Office, 704 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

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Between June 14 and 15, 1967, source nine advised [redacted] attended a three-day meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, held between June 10 and June 12, 1967 at the Roosevelt Hotel, New York City.

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On November 2, 1967, source eight advised that as of that date [redacted] was the Southern California editor of the PW at its office at 704 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

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IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

The following organizations, mentioned under the sections set out below, have been active in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

Section III

The NAPP, an adjunct of the EYOA, has been active in meetings with parents to resolve differences at MAHS.

The United Front Foundation has been active in the Pacoima area of Los Angeles

Section VIII

A volunteer organization, VISTO, has been formed by the Los Angeles County Probation Office and interested volunteers.

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V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONNECTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of March 21, 1968, I-30 was an article reporting that 15 Los Angeles Police Department Officers from the 77th Street Division, most of whom work night watch in patrol cars had been guests for breakfast in the home of a resident of Watts. A woman spokesman for the 77th Street Division Police Advisory Committee stated the purpose was to introduce officers to the "law abiding and responsible citizens" of the community.

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VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF
THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of March 28, 1968, page 8-D, was an article reporting the Los Angeles County Probation Department was recruiting volunteers for a project called Volunteers In Service To Offenders (VISTO). The program, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, will provide services to probationers in the area of employment, job training, health problems, education and cultural and recreational activities. Probation officers will work in appropriate areas with two enrollees in the Concentrated Employment Program and three Neighborhood Youth Corps workers.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena; to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 11, 13, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, one of its 'most complex affiliates.' The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates 'frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organization * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182, on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58 and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report # 53, February 11, 1957, p. 2.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/16/66, reported the results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 5/16/67 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES, PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on May 10, 1967, that the Los Angeles Progressive Labor Party (PLP) is affiliated with the Bay Area Progressive Labor Party (BAPLP) with headquarters in San Francisco, California. The aims and purposes of the Los Angeles Club and the BAPLP are identical to those of the National PLP, with headquarters in New York City. The PLP is pro-Chinese Communist oriented.

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APPENDIX

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP would have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

"The New York Times", City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary Socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen, New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962, by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party, USA, for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a monthly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life - where the working masses have power and control over their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government of every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.

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APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

- 22* -

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
April 5, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-943

Title	POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE MAJOR URBAN AREAS
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Los Angeles letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM: FBI
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-13-2011

Date: 4/5/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943) (P)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTER

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM), dated 3/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above.

One copy of the LHM is designated for the Bureau CIRM file, (Bufile 100-442529).

Local military agencies; the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles; and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 12)
- 3 - Los Angeles
- (1) - 100-66078) (CIRM)

LDJ/mmm
(6) *ap*

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b7c



SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

File
OK

100-66078-1482

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

OFFICE COPY

LA 157-943

Source Identity of Source

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | [REDACTED] |
| 2 | Mr. [REDACTED]
Security Officer,
Manual Arts High School
Los Angeles, California |
| 3 | [REDACTED] Negro
financier and leader,
Los Angeles area |
| 4 | [REDACTED] |
| 5 | [REDACTED] |
| 6 | [REDACTED] |
| 7 | [REDACTED] |
| 8 | [REDACTED] |
| 9 | [REDACTED] |

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b7D

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources one and sources five through nine, could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 3/19/68 through 4/1/68, 12 PCIs and no PSIs were advised according according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66078)
FROM: SA LESLIE F. WARREN
SUBJECT: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL
MATTERS (CIRM)
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

DATE: 4/8/68

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	Negro Commission, SCDCP meeting on 3/11/68.	3/15/68	Writer	[REDACTED] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"March 12, 1968
Los Angeles, Calif.

"The Negro Commission of the Southern California Dist. Communist Party held its regular meeting, Monday, March 11th at the home of ROSE CHURIEN - 3048 Victoria - present were:

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CC: 1 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)
100-84994 (GUS HALL)

Handwritten: LFW 5-3-68 [Signature]

- 100-23660 (ROSE CHERNIN) (SI)
- 100-63652 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-52571 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-23933 (MEMBERSHIP)
- 100-23423 (POLITICAL ACTIVITY)
- 100-70073 (PFP)
- 100-60120 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-25739 (HUGH GORDON BOOK STORE)
- 100-67803 (KENDRA ALEXANDER) (SI)
- 100-56057 [REDACTED] (SI)

- 100-60605 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-30439 (WILLIAM TAYLOR) (SI)
- 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY) (SI)
- 100-24352 (FACTIONALISM)

Handwritten: 100-66078-1483

LFW:LAL
(17)

Handwritten: [Signature]

Read by LFW

[REDACTED]

SEARCHED [initials] INDEXED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials] FILED [initials]
APR 8 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

LA 100-66078

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
ROSE CHURIEN
BILL TAYLOR

[REDACTED] etc. plus
DOROTHY HEALY

"The purpose of the meeting was to discuss a single point agenda that being the position of BILL TAYLOR. BILL TAYLOR had made known his wishes to leave the full-time job as Party Organizer. He had stated that he would not leave the leadership but he did feel that he should be replaced as a paid Party member.

"The discussion evolved around the premise that BILL TAYLOR had made a serious mistake in voting in favor of the criticism which had been expressed recently by GUS HALL concerning what he called some serious blunders in dealing with the political perspectives of 1966 and particularly around the analysis of the perspectives of the Peace & Freedom Party. BILL TAYLOR at the last District Committee meeting had voted in favor of that criticism by GUS HALL & thus was the only member of the Board to do so. This came about because of a resolution introduced at the committee meeting by [REDACTED] who simply stated that the committee go on record as saying that it praises the correctness of that decision by the District Board.

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"Apparently what happened after BILL spoke, against [REDACTED]'s resolution, was that he and DOROTHY HEALY apparently had a discussion concerning his vote & that BILL had made mention of some unnecessary criticism by DOROTHY. According to BILL TAYLOR's account DOROTHY refused to speak to him thereafter - during that day.

"All this apparently angered BILL TAYLOR to the extent that he took this course to more or less re-establish himself with the Party. I for one never felt that he would make good on his threat. To coin a popular phrase - its an old hat trick that has been tried before, with success I might add.

"During the discussion it was also brought out that BILL TAYLOR had been asked to consider going into the Hugh Gordon Bookstore to work. This too had hurt the pride of BILL TAYLOR & he

LA 100-66078

"had taken great exception to this. KINDRA & [REDACTED] were the people who had made the request.

"I also feel that there is a lot of professional jealousy concerning BILL TAYLOR & [REDACTED]. By this I mean that BILL TAYLOR feels that [REDACTED] is shooting for his job.

"DOROTHY said that she had been greatly upset by BILL TAYLORs action concerning his vote at the District Committee & had expressed her displeasure to BILL. She said that what bothered her most was that the policy which BILL TAYLOR attached was the same policy that he had been in favor of at the time it was made at the board meeting. DOROTHY said that she expects a board member to stick by her in such a case. DOROTHY further stated that she believed the best possible thing to strighten out a lot of misunderstandings would be to have a conference of the nature that [REDACTED] spoke of at a District meeting.

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"The commission voted to have that conference at the earliest possible date. It was set for the 30th of March. Also after a resolution was introduced to the effect that BILL TAYLOR would not go off the payroll as a full-timer & that he continue in his same capacity - that too was unanimously voted for & BILL TAYLOR concurred."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
April 15, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-13-2011

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Los Angeles letterhead memorandum dated
March 18, 1968.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in
the past, advised on April 9, 1968, that the following motion
was presented to the Los Angeles City Council on March 12, 1968:

"Whereas, on 2/18/68, Gregory L. Clarke, 18 years old,
was fatally shot by [redacted], a member of the
Los Angeles Police Department; and

"Whereas, on 3/8/68, the Coroners jury rendered a 4-3
split decision of justifiable homicide after an inquiry
into the shooting; and

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"Whereas, on 3/11/68, Reverend [redacted] on
behalf of a group of citizens, requested that the City
Council conduct an inquiry into the incident;

"Now, therefore, I move that the Police, Fire and Civil
Defense Committee conduct an inquiry into the incident
and report its findings to the City Council."

The above mentioned source advised that the motion
was issued by the People's Tribunal Committee, and presented
to the Council by Thomas Bradley, Councilman from the Tenth
District in Los Angeles.

- 12 - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - 115th MI, Region II,
 Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton Air Force
 Base (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los
 Angeles (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- ② - Los Angeles (157-2197)
- ① - 100-66078) (CIRM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____
FILED _____

WMB/pjs
(19)

100-66078-1486

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE

"Open City" an underground newspaper published in Los Angeles, in its issue dated March 22 - 28, 1968, carried an article which was captioned "Cop Wanted For Murder". The article indicated that [redacted] was found guilty on March 17, 1968, in a trial that was conducted in South Park "deep in the heart of the ghetto." The jurors were 300 angry residents of the black ghetto, who rendered their guilty verdict with "angry curses."

The People's Tribunal was led by [redacted] who acted as prosecuting attorney. [redacted] served as defense attorney for [redacted] who failed to appear. Seven black judges conducted the meeting: [redacted] of the United Parents Council; [redacted] a member of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Brother [redacted] of the Black Panther Party; [redacted] of the Los Angeles Black Congress; [redacted] of the US organization; and [redacted] of the Watts ACLU Police Malpractices Complaint Center.

The article indicated that none of the eye-witnesses to the shooting were present to testify and none of the members of the Clark family were present at the "trial".

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A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] was a member of the Medger Evers Club of the Southern California District of the Communist Party as of November 1965.

A third source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] was a subscriber to the "People's World" in 1968.

The "People's World" is a West Coast communist newspaper which is published weekly in San Francisco.

The first source, previously mentioned, advised that [redacted] was among those who attended the annual testimonial dinner of the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights (see Appendix).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A fourth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [redacted] was one of the speakers at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum which was held on March 8, 1968, at 1702 East 4th Street, Los Angeles, California.

A fifth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 12, 1966, that the Militant Labor Forum is another name used by the Los Angeles Local-Socialist Workers Party (see appendix) to conceal it's sponsorship of certain activities.

It is to be noted that on March 6, 1968, [redacted] [redacted] was sentenced in Los Angeles Municipal Court to pay a fine of \$200 and given two years probation for her part in the disturbance at Manual Arts High School in Los Angeles in 1967.

The Black Congress is a coalition of militant and non-militant black nationalist organizations.

The Articles of Incorporation filed on September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State, State of California, indicate US is a non-profit organization with office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. The April 1967, issue of "Sepia", a monthly nationwide magazine aimed at the mass negro market, published in Fort Worth, Texas, quoted [redacted] [redacted] also known as [redacted] as follows: US is a cultural organization with the purpose of giving to black people a frame of reference. Karenga has been publicly identified and founder and chairman of US.

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A sixth source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in January 1968, that US is a militant black nationalist organization which reflects the anti-white attitude of [redacted] who has recently made inflammatory public statements advising Negroes not to support the war in Vietnam. He has also made bitter verbal attacks against the white man whenever presented with the opportunity.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign-Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***' The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organization * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * *. The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182, on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58 and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 5/16/67 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 24, 1967, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
April 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 157-2197

Title THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE

Character RACIAL MATTERS

Reference Letterhead memorandum dated
and captioned as above at
Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-13-2011

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2197) (C)

SUBJECT: THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 4/15/68

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) dated 3/18/68.

Submitted herewith are 12 copies of a LHM pertaining to the activities of the above captioned committee. Copies of the LHM are being furnished to:

NIS, San Diego
115th MI, Region II, Pasadena
OSI, Norton Air Force Base
Secret Service, Los Angeles
USA, Los Angeles

Copies of the LHM are also being forwarded to the Los Angeles and Bureau files re CIRM.

The sources mentioned in the details of the LHM are:

1. [redacted] who furnished the information to SA F. G. KAHL on 4/9/68. This source also provided a documentation of [redacted].
2. [redacted] documentation of [redacted]
3. [redacted] documentation of [redacted].
4. [redacted] documentation of [redacted]
5. [redacted] documentation of MLF.
6. [redacted] documentation of US.

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The attached LHM is being classified as "~~Confidential~~" because of information furnished by sources 1 through 6, which if revealed could reasonably result in the disclosure of their identities and compromise informants of continuing value.

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

- 4 - Bureau (RM) (Encl. 12)
- (1 - 100-442529)
- (2) - Los Angeles
- (1) - 100-66078

WMB/pjs
(6)

ap

OFFICE COPY



100-66078-1489

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SACRAMENTO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 4/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 2/1/68 - 4/24/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA 	TYPED BY mar
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCES: Los Angeles and San Francisco reports due 2/1/68.

- P* -

INFORMANTS:

SOURCE

LOCATION

SC - T1

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b7D

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED NONE						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED _____ SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

SEE COVER PAGE B

100-66078-1488

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
 SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
 MAY 2 1968
 FBI - LOS ANGELES

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

SC 100-138

- 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - OSI, 19th District, Travis AFB
- 1 - 115th M.I. Group, Sacramento
- 1 - NISO, San Francisco
- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Sacramento
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- ① - Los Angeles 100-66078 (RM) (Info)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) (Info)
- 3 - Sacramento (100-138)

.....

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Information copies furnished Los Angeles and San Francisco because of their mutual interest in activities throughout the State of California.

LEAD:

SACRAMENTO DIVISION

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report communist influence in racial matters.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 - OSI, 19th District, Travis AFB
 1 - 115th M.I. Group, Sacramento
 1 - NISO, San Francisco
 Copy to: 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Sacramento

Report of: SA
 Date: April 30, 1968

b6
b7c

Office: Sacramento, California

Field Office File #: 100-138

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Synopsis: Communist Party (CP) Club in Chico, California, trying hard to enlist Negroes into CP and have invited them to attend CP sponsored open discussion.

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST PARTY STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, USA

SC T-1 (February 15, 1968)

T-1 advised that at a Communist Party (CP) meeting held in Chico, California, on February 13, 1968, it was decided to invite some Negro people to a CP sponsored discussion to be held on February 23, 1968. T-1 advised that the CP Club was trying very hard to enlist as many Negroes as possible into the CP.

SC T-1 (February 27, 1968)

T-1 advised that the CP sponsored an open discussion held in Chico, California, on February 23, 1968. T-1 stated that the CP, USA, had issued a call for the formation of a United Front and that two invited Negroes attended.

- 1* -



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Sacramento, California
April 30, 1968

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Reference Report of SA [redacted] at
Sacramento, California, dated
April 30, 1968

b6
b7c

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN LOS ANGELES	DATE 5/15/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/1/68 - 5/9/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY [Redacted]	TYPED BY rah
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS-C b6 b7C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [Redacted] dated 2/7/68, at Los Angeles.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished San Diego, New York, and San Francisco for information in view of their mutual interest in matters concerned in this report.

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because data received from confidential informants utilized therein tends to identify sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED None						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM) 1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM) 1 - NISO, San Diego (RM) 1 - New York (100-153735) (RM) 1 - San Diego (100-13295) (RM) 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) ③ - Los Angeles (100-66078)		100	66078	1489
		SEARCHED		
		INDEXED		
		SERIALIZED		
		FILED		

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				Notations
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

LA 100-66078

The Special Agents of the FBI who observed the demonstration on 3/20/68, were G. J. MOOREHEAD and [redacted]

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report any reported Communist influence in racial matters.

INFORMANTS

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>
LA T-1 - [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-2 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-3 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-4 [redacted]	[redacted] through
LA T-5 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-6 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-7 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-8 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-9 [redacted]	[redacted]
LA T-10 [redacted]	[redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

LA 100-66078

LA T-11
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-12
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-13
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-14
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-15
[redacted]

Orally to SA FRANCIS G. KAHL
on 3/14/68 and 3/18/68

LA T-16
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-17
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-18
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-19
[redacted]

[redacted]

LA T-20
[redacted]

Orally to SA [redacted]
on 9/1/67; secondary documentation
of [redacted]

LA T-21
[redacted]

Orally to SA THOMAS G. MANSFIELD
on 4/17/68, instant report

NAACP, Los Angeles,
California

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b7D

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: [Redacted]
Date: 5/15/68

b6
b7c

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Synopsis: The strategy and tactics of the Southern California District Communist Party in racial matters set forth. No Communist infiltration in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People noted in Los Angeles.

- P* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

LA 100-66078

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LA 100-66078

DETAILS:

Unless otherwise noted, all addresses mentioned in this report are in Los Angeles, California.

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

LA T-2 (12/21/67)
LA T-4 (1/9/68)

At a meeting of the Aaron Johnson Club, Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), held December 13, 1967, at 1808 Arapahoe Street, it was announced that all club officers were to attend a district Black Power Convention to be held on December 16, 1967.

LA T-4 (12/21/67)
LA T-5 (1/10/68)
LA T-6 (12/19/67)

A special meeting of the District Committee, SCDCP, was held on December 16, 1967, at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss the Negro question. The meeting was chaired by DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the SCDCP. BILL TAYLOR, a District Committee member, stated that pamphlets written by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, National Committee member, Communist Party (CP), USA, concerning Black Power and Negro Liberation, would be mailed out to all important Negro organizations and to some special Negro individuals. TAYLOR stated that the following plans would be carried out:

(1) to form a special political program which would be developed in the Negro community.

(2) form a program of Negro culture on foreign activities taking place in the Negro community in terms of tendencies in the Negro community in relation to the Black Muslims and the Black Nationalists.

(3) to recruit more Negroes into the CP.

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LA T-8 (1/16/68)

At a meeting of the Echo Park Club, SCDCP, held January 9, 1968, at 1011 Rosemont Avenue, a discussion was held concerning Black Power and the CP's role concerning Negro affairs.

LA T-9 (1/19/68)
LA T-11 (1/25/68)
LA T-12 (1/20/68)

At a meeting of the South Central Club, Moranda Smith Section (MSS SCDCP) held on January 17, 1968, at 824 West 74th Street, a discussion was held on Black Power and the article written by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, National Negro Commission leader, CP, USA, concerning Black Power. It was mentioned at this meeting that LIGHTFOOT's article was Party (CP) policy.

LA T-2 (1/17/68)
LA T-10 (1/17/68)

A meeting of the Aaron Johnson Club, MSS SCDCP, was held on January 3, 1968, at 1808 Arapahoe Street. A discussion was held at this meeting concerning a recent Black Power conference and what the Party (CP) would do to help the Negro.

LA T-7 (1/31/68)
LA T-8 (1/29/68)

The Echo Park Club, SCDCP, held a meeting on January 23, 1968, at 1011 Rosemont Avenue. A discussion was held at this meeting concerning Black Power and the Party's (CP) position regarding the Negro question.

LA T-9 (2/2/68)
LA T-11 (2/6/68)
LA T-12 (2/6/68)

A meeting of the South Central Club, SCDCP, was held on January 31, 1968, at 1235 West 68th Street. The Black Power article written by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT was discussed at this meeting and also the Party's (CP) position concerning Negroes.

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LA T-5 (2/2/68)
LA T-13 (1/31/68)

A District Committee meeting, SCDCP, was held on January 27, 1968, at the City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive. One of the main points at this meeting was the stressing of support for the Negro and Mexican candidates for the coming elections.

LA T-14 (2/7/68)

A meeting of the Negro Commission, MSS SCDCP, was held on January 5, 1968, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. [redacted] member of the Negro Commission, SCDCP, and member of the National Committee, CP, USA, spoke concerning a recent Black Congress meeting that she had attended. She mentioned that new members were still being added to the various groups making up the Black Congress. She pointed out that the Black Congress is composed of 27 different organizations. She stated that it was important to get more CP members into the organization before they eventually close the doors to Communists.

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"Harambee, self described as a bi-weekly newspaper published by the Black Congress, stated in its November 17, 1967, issue, that "the Black Congress is a coalition of community organizations whose primary objective is to liberate black people from the shackles of racist oppression. This coalition includes groups of many and varied political persuasions."

LA T-13 (3/1/68)

A meeting of the Negro Commission, SCDCP, was held on February 5, 1968, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. At this meeting, it was pointed out to the membership that it is the duty of white Communists to put on a massive campaign in the white community to point out in their own self-interest the need for white people to join in the fight for the rights of minority groups.

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LA T-9 (3/15/68)

On March 13, 1968, a meeting of the South Central Club, MSS SCDCP, was held at 727 East 91st Street. At this meeting, the CP's role in Negro matters was discussed.

LA T-16 (2/5/68)

A meeting of the City Terrace Club, SCDCP, was held on January 31, 1968, at 1430 Miller Avenue. At the meeting, there was considerable discussion concerning the role of the Party (CP) in the Negro movement.

LA T-17 (2/19/68)

A meeting of the MSS SCDCP was held February 12, 1968, at 2128 Third Avenue. At this meeting, BILL TAYLOR, previously mentioned, stated that there are too few Negro comrades in the CP both in the SCDCP and in the CP, USA and every effort should be made to increase the Negro membership.

LA T-19 (3/8/68)

A meeting of the MSS SCDCP was held February 26, 1968, at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. The Black Power movement was discussed at this meeting and also considerable discussion was held concerning the recent Stokely Carmichael rally at the Los Angeles Sports Arena. STOKELY CARMICHAEL was the former head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (see appendix).

LA T-19 (3/8/68)

A forum sponsored by the West Adams Club, SCDCP, was held on February 25, 1968, at 3048 Victoria Avenue. A discussion on Black Power was held at this forum and was led by one of the members of the West Adams Club. Most persons at the forum, including the CP members, felt that the arming and self-defense by Negroes was a necessary thing.

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II. COMMUNIST TACTICS

LA T-1 (12/13/67)

At a meeting of club chairmen, SCDCP held November 2, 1967, at 1251 South Saint Andrews Place, DOROTHY HEALEY, chairman, SCDCP, spoke and urged all club chairmen to open a second front - that of the fight for the Negro - in all of the Party's political work. She further urged that both struggles be united - that is the fight for peace and the fight for the Negro.

LA T-3 (12/29/67)

At a meeting of the West Adams Club, SCDCP held December 18, 1967, at 3048 Victoria Avenue, the main topic discussed was that the SCDCP would take on a project and that this project would be to maintain a youth center in the South Los Angeles area for Negro youth. It was explained to the membership that this center would have workshops, a recreation program, and literature available for the young Negroes.

LA T-4 (1/9/68)

A meeting of the MSS SCDCP was held on December 11, 1967, at 2128 Third Avenue. It was announced at this meeting that CP sponsored forums would be held during Negro History Week.

LA T-7 (1/12/68)

At a meeting of the Echo Park Club, SCDCP held on January 2, 1968, at 1011 Rosemont Avenue, it was announced that every CP club in the district is to recruit 15 new Negro people for the CP.

LA T-15 (3/18/68)

Source advised that a demonstration and possible sit-in had been planned for 10:00 a.m. March 20, 1968, at the New Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, in support of H. RAP BROWN, chairman of SNCC. Source advised

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that the demonstration was being planned as an all day affair and it was being organized by [redacted] who is publicly identified as a member of the SCDCP and a member of Los Angeles SNCC. Source advised that [redacted] has been attempting to obtain support from local militant Black Nationalist organizations.

On March 20, 1968, Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed the demonstration in support of H. RAP BROWN, chairman of SNCC, in front of the New Federal Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, which commenced at 11:00 a.m. and terminated at 6:30 p.m.

LA T-18 (2/21/68)

A meeting of the Long Beach Club, SCDCP, was held on February 13, 1968, at 1415 West Summit, Long Beach, California. One of the members announced that there would be a mass rally on February 18, 1968, at the Los Angeles Sports Arena. This rally was in honor of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, previously mentioned, and BOBBY SEALE of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (see appendix). All club members were urged to attend this rally.

LA T-15 (3/14/68)

Source advised that there was a definite possibility of racial disorders in the Pasadena, California, area. Source stated that [redacted], a Negro reporter for the "People's World" (PW) newspaper; [redacted] and other individuals had been meeting with Pasadena school officials to push programs that they hope will create unrest in the community. The exact nature of these programs was unknown to the source. [redacted] is a member of the SCDCP and Los Angeles editor of the PW.

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LA T-20 (9/1/67)

This source advised that [redacted] attended a meeting of the Executive Board of the SCDCP on August 22, 1967, at 1309 South Hudson Avenue. Board members agreed that [redacted] could sit in on the meeting even though not a member of the CP since he had been a member of the CP in the past and was present at the meeting as a representative of the PW.

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The PW is a West Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

LA T-21 (4/17/68)

Source advised that to his knowledge, there was no Communist infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Los Angeles, California, area.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966; as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed, and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

APPENDIX

APPENDIXSTUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a world-wide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968,

APPENDIX CONTINUED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

APPENDIX

- 12* -

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Los Angeles, California
May 15, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-66078

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY-C

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
 dated and captioned as above
 at Los Angeles.

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All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, Los Angeles (100-66078) DATE: _____

FROM : SA

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C

In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated _____. The review for this report was made from serial 1391 through serial 1482.

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
18	None to be destroyed.
19	1400-1407, 1412-1424, 1426-1450, 1460, 1462-1478
20	1480 1481-1482
Volumes 19 + 20 consolidated into vol 19.	

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100-66078-1490

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

RAB

No. of copies _____

Approved _____
Destroyed

Date 5-10-68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 4/30/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/1/68-3/31/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY WILLIAM A. COHENDET	TYPED BY dp
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA JOSEPH T. QUIGLEY dated 1/31/68 at San Francisco.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being submitted to Los Angeles and New York for information.

This report is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because the information furnished by confidential informants recorded herein could reasonably result in their identification and affect their future usefulness.

Case has been: Pending over one year Yes No; Pending prosecution over six months Yes No

APPROVED _____ SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px;"> <p style="font-size: 1.2em; margin: 0;">100-66078-1517</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SEARCHED</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">INDEXED</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SERIALIZED</td> <td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">FILED</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; text-align: center;">APR 1 1968</td> </tr> </table> </div>	SEARCHED	INDEXED	SERIALIZED	FILED	APR 1 1968																									
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SF 100-53902
WAC/dp

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

[REDACTED]

Instant file

SF T-2 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-3 is

[REDACTED]

Characterization of
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

SF T-4 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-5 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

SF T-6 is

[REDACTED]

Characterization of ROSCOE
PROCTOR

SF T-7 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-8 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-9 is

[REDACTED]

Characterization of Militant
Labor Forum

SF T-10 is

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-11 is

PSI [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

SF T-12 is

[REDACTED]

Instant file

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
1 - NISO-12ND (RM)
1 - OSI-19th District (RM)

Report of: WILLIAM A. COHENDET Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 4/30/68

Field Office File #: 100-53902 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Implementation of CP, Oakland Project (to have Negroes have control of their own communities) not noted as making much progress during first quarter of 1968. All CP clubs instructed to observe 2/68 as Negro History Month. ROSCOE PROCTOR, NCDP Negro leader, claimed that black militants were now willing to accept assistance from white radicals but at the same time some white CP members reported being frustrated in their attempts to be of aid. "PW" supported the idea of the Black United Front promulgated by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and urged action to secure release from jail of Black Panther leader HUEY NEWTON being held on a murder charge. CP appeared to desire to gain access to the Black Panther movement.

- P* -

DETAILS:I. COMMUNIST STRATEGYA. Communist Party, USA (CP, USA)

1. At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP on January 9, 1968 a pamphlet was distributed having to do with the implementation of the Oakland Project. This material was

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~~GROUP 1~~

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

SF 100-53902
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previously submitted and set forth in referenced report, at which time it was described as having been furnished by the National Communist Party Conference on Negro Work which took place in New York in late 1967. Briefly it stated that the CP would sponsor the movement for Negroes to have complete and entire control over every aspect of their communities. Oakland, California was chosen as a target city.

SF T-1, 1/16/68

At a meeting of the San Francisco County CP Chairmen on February 13, 1968, various items of literature were passed out. Among these was a memorandum to all CP clubs from the ORD - ED Committee dated February 1968 enclosing material on Negro History Month prepared by the National Education Department of the CP, USA. February club meetings were expected to devote at least one session to a discussion of Negro history as a beginning of extended discussions. Set forth in full is the outline for a club discussion as prepared by CP National Committeeman for Negro affairs, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT.

on

"BLACK POWER AND LIBERATION: A Communist View"
by Claude Lightfoot

The club leadership should arrange that the pamphlet be purchased by every member in advance of the scheduled discussion. Every member should study the pamphlet and come prepared to answer the questions, participate in the discussion, raise points that need clarification, etc. For a fruitful discussion, it is essential that the participants relate their own experiences.

From the very beginning of the discussion, attention should be focused on the basic and most important points which in their totality encompass the Communist view on Black Power and Liberation so that the whole of the program of the Party is understood. For this we suggest the reading of the following paragraph as an introduction to the opening session:

"Comrade Lightfoot speaks of the unprecedented problems this nation of ours faces today; the growth of fascist danger, the germs of disunity when unity is the most urgent question, the need for a radical change, etc., to understand the reason for the growing crisis. The pamphlet poses six basic questions. These are: 1) the character of the present period; 2) what is new in racism; 3) the nature of the present wave of black nationalism; 4) the methods of struggle required for today; 5) an estimate of the Communist Party's position on the Negro question in the last nine years in the light of today's requirements and tasks; 6) what the vanguard role of the Party is in the circumstances of today."

The reading of this paragraph should be repeated at the opening of every session so that the participants see the interconnection of the above six questions even though the discussion will proceed on each question presented in this outline. The club should decide on the number of sessions to be devoted to the discussion.

* * *

Question I.

It is said that the present moment can be characterized as one charged with great economic, political and social turbulence.

- a) Give examples of this turbulence and show the various strata of the American people involved in it.
- b) What is the significance of the merging efforts by the peace and civil rights forces? (Pp. 3-7)

Question II.

The pamphlet points to the danger of growing clashes and cleavages between forces that have much in common:

- a) What are these clashes and cleavages?
- b) Discuss the racist counter-offensive and its causes, the serious weaknesses in the labor movement which are an obstacle to black-white unity. What is your experience in this and how are you fighting to overcome racism? (Pp. 9-15)

Question III.

Is it true that racism is a major contributor to moods of black nationalism? What is the main content of nationalism today and its new features as compared with the previous period? Discuss the progressive and reactionary aspects of nationalism and the Party's position in relation to it. Be concrete in your examples. (Pp. 8-25)

Question IV.

What is the Party's estimate with regard to violent actions in the black ghettos by black people? What are the main problems to be solved in Negro and Puerto Rican communities, and what is the role of the white Communists? (Pp. 26-31)

Question V.

Comrade Lightfoot says that the illumination of our tasks requires a review of our work in the last 10 years.

- a) Is it true that during this period we had a wrong line on the Negro question?
- b) What is the meaning of: "The Negro question is a national question"?
- c) Did our policy on this question manifest weaknesses and failures? Explain and prove your points. (Pp. 32-36)

Question VI.

What is the Party's view on integration and black power? Who is the main enemy of the black people and of the American working people? (Pp. 37-40)

Question VII.

Explain the meaning and the application of the Party's policy of black-white unity based on equality. What are your experiences? (pp. 41-43)

Question VIII.

The Party stresses the question of our work among the white workers in the unions and white communities to promote black-white unity based on self-interest. Explain this fully and give your experience.

Question IX.

How do we go about introducing a class content into the present wave of black nationalism, and what are the tasks of the white and black Communists? Be concrete. (Pp 29-32)

Question X.

How are we to build the Party among the Negro people, especially the young militant Negroes? Are there any obstacles that hinder this? Discuss fully and concretely and state how you and the club propose to do it. (Pp. 44-46)

* * * *

Suggested Additional Readings:

Political Affairs, February 1963

Henry Winston, Negro-White Unity

Speech by James Forman in The Worker, January 7, 1963

The Negro Question, Resolution of the 10th National Convention, CPUSA.

SF 100-53902
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Concerning Negro History Month which was designated as February, 1968 by the National Education Department of the CP, USA, the long time interest of the CP in Negro history was revealed. It was pointed out that a CP member BENJAMIN DAVIS, in the period 1943 to 49 when he was a city councilman in New York, had successfully urged the City Council to proclaim Negro History Week in the city. So in 1968 the party pointed out the task of recognizing that the significance of Negro History Week had become even more important. It was pointed out that the examples of struggles for national liberation in Africa and inside the United States emphasize the value of utilizing the observances of Negro history weeks or months as instruments in the fight to invoke white Americans in the struggle.

All party organizations were instructed to give serious attention to the stimulation of the widest variety of public activities to promote the observance of Negro History Month in churches, schools, trade unions and other organizations, by means of lectures, displays, and other activities.

Within the party, discussions should be organized to study this problem, and the LIGHTFOOT outline was to be used as the primary tool. CP members were also instructed to study the entire February issue of "Political Affairs" which was devoted to the Negro program. Party members were instructed to organize city-wide or district-wide ideological conferences on the question of Negro liberation.

SF T-2, 2/15/68

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT is the Secretary
of the National Committee for Negro
Affairs of the CP, USA.

SF T-3, 7/18/67

"Political Affairs" is a self-described
theoretical monthly magazine of the
CP, USA.

SF 100-53902
WAC/dp

2. PLANS FROM DISTRICT AND LOWER
LEVEL MEETINGS

At a CP club chairmen meeting on February 13, 1968 it was pointed out that about \$50 per month would be required from each club to pay the expenses for the Negro coordinator.

SF T-2, 2/15/68

At a meeting of the CP Regional Labor Section, 1250 Girard Street, San Francisco, a member discussed the black peoples apprenticeship program. He complained that the training did not go good because the unions would not accept the Negro for membership. The Section received the suggestion that the problem be referred to the FEPC and the Labor Department at Washington, D.C.

SF T-4, 1/24/68

The East Bay Ghetto Club of the CP met on January 11, 1968 at 1627 Woolsey Street, Berkeley. ROSCOE PROCTOR was unable to attend being in the East discussing Negro problems with CP leaders. This meeting concerned itself with attempts to locate a suitable location for a building where a program to assist the education and culture of young Negroes could be instituted. The club intended to teach black history and to train Negro youths in some kind of trade to enable them to enter the labor force. PROCTOR was reported to be proud of this club for getting the above project "off the ground." To date no suitable location had been found.

SF T-5, 1/24/68

ROSCOE PROCTOR is Chairman of the
Northern California District CP
Negro Commission.

SF T-6, 5/16/67

SF 100-53902
WAC/dp

The East Bay Ghetto Club of the CP met again on February 1, 1968 at the same address in Berkeley, at which time further discussion of a suitable location to inaugurate the educational center for Negro youth was had. The entire meeting was consumed with this problem with no positive results.

SF T-5, 2/14/68

The Sunset Club of the CP met on February 12, 1968 at 1526-27th Avenue, San Francisco. Among matters discussed was the ROSCOE PROCTOR article in the "People's World" (PW) which had to do with civil rights. The members present could not agree whether or not the use of the democratic process had been exhausted in the civil rights field. The club also agreed there was no overall leadership in the Negro field at this time. Those whites who had formerly worked with the blacks had been more or less thrown out by the Negroes so these whites were frustrated in their attempts to be of assistance.

SF T-7, 2/15/68

The PW is a West Coast Communist newspaper published weekly in San Francisco, California.

3. PLANS AS REVEALED IN PARTY PUBLICATIONS

In the PW issue of March 2, 1968, an editorial entitled "Black Survival" was published. This was a 2 column article summarizing the recent local appearances of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, Negro black nationalist leaders connected with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The question of survival was stated to be one of grim immediacy. The first point in the new militant strategy was the "Black United Front." Black nationalism was the proposed ideological framework for such unity. The PW claimed that nationalism gave not only cohesion to the movement but also imparted to black Americans a pride in their heritage. The article concerned black nationalism as a progressive revolutionary force. The black militants it was predicted would seek alliances with other oppressed national minorities. The PW disagreed with CARMICHAEL's exclusion of Communism as relevant to the struggle. The PW

SF 100-53902
WAC/dp

claimed that tactical issues were relevant as it appears short sighted to discuss the electoral process from the struggle especially in areas where black people were in the majority or close to it. The PW also dwelt on the question of class exploitation inherent in this struggle. The dismissal of the class factor as a relative issue precluded class alliance with white workers. White workers should also realize that the struggle against racism was an issue of their survival also, since their own democratic rights were in the gravest jeopardy.

The fight for black survival was said to be a fight for the democratic and progressive elements in the country. The PW called for solidarity in action with the black militants.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was created in 1960 as a non-violent civil rights movement. However, since 1965 it has changed to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy, inciting violence not only against the white man but also the middle class Negro. SNCC is a foremost component of the new left and has cooperated with Communist left groups. Headquarters is in Atlanta, Georgia. CARMICHAEL was former National Chairman, BROWN is presently Chairman.

The PW editorial page, issue of March 23, 1968, on an article calling for the freeing of HUEY NEWTON, the PW claimed that the trial of NEWTON for murder set for May 6, 1968 was a confrontation between black militancy and the "punitive arm of white racism." It stated that NEWTON was a marked man for organizing the Black Panthers as a force to defend the black ghetto. The prosecution was alleged to be a frame-up to take NEWTON's life. The defense of NEWTON was said to be intertwined with the struggle for racial survival.

The PW called for a struggle to defeat the "frame-up" and to thwart "racist" aggression against the ghetto and to support the ghetto's right of self-defense.

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HUEY NEWTON is a former leader of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD) presently being held in jail in Alameda County, California, on charges of murdering a police officer.

The BPPSD is described in the Appendix Page.

B. Other Communist Groups

A number of Black Panther leaders appeared at a meeting under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum on January 5, 1968 in San Francisco. The meeting was held at 2328 Market Street and the speakers were BOBBY SEALE and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Chairman and Minister of Information for the BPPSD. The speaking group charged an entrance fee and sold pamphlets and the Black Panthers passed a hat and gathered \$187 in contributions. The speakers mentioned above preached the need for Negroes to use arms to overcome "police brutality and other injustices."

SF T-8, 1/8/68

SF T-9 has described the Militant Labor Forum as a named used by Socialist Workers Party (SWP) whenever it sponsored a public appearance.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450:

II. COMMUNIST PARTY TACTICS

There is no material to report under this category during the period.

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WAC/dp

III. COMMUNIST PARTY PENETRATION
AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

At a CP District meeting held at 942 Market Street, San Francisco, on February 12, 1968, ROSCOE PROCTOR stated that he had met with Black Panther members and had discussed getting Black Panther leader HUEY NEWTON as a candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party ticket.

SF T-10, 2/20/68

The Peace and Freedom Party is a third party which qualified for the ballot in California in the spring of 1968. It espouses many of the proposals of the new left, such as stop the draft and anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

At a meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club on July 22, 1968, it was stated that some members of the club had attended the STOKELY CARMICHAEL rally in Berkeley February 21, 1968. The club voted to involve itself in the CARMICHAEL program. However, it was said to be difficult to get to talk to CARMICHAEL because he was always surrounded by Black Panthers. ROSCOE PROCTOR stated he was planning to approach CARMICHAEL under the guise of representing the PW.

ROSCOE PROCTOR met with CP and Marxist youth at 881 Clayton Street, San Francisco, late in February 1968 to explain how white radical youth could organize to help black groups at the time of racial disorders and riots. PROCTOR claimed that the fact that he was well known as a CP leader had not hampered his working with the "black power" groups. He asserted that the Black Panthers, a violently anti-white group were now willing to accept help from white radicals. PROCTOR claimed that meetings were taking place to decide just what the radical whites could do, but generally the most effective plan was to create a second

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front to divert and divide the forces attempting to stop disorders. PROCTOR stated that San Francisco would explode with violence before Oakland did due to what he called the violent anti-white nature of the leaders in San Francisco. PROCTOR claimed he would not like to see the guerrilla tactics, destruction of utilities and general mayhem occur in the cities as predicted by [redacted] publication, but he felt that if "it must happen, it will."

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SF T-11, 2/26/68

[redacted] is a former black nationalist leader who has been reported in Cuba and Communist China in recent times.

ROSCOE PROCTOR is a publicly admitted member of the Communist Party National Committee.

At a CP meeting on February 23, 1968 at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, BETTINA APTHEKER gave a report on Black Panther activities which she had learned from a meeting she attended in Oakland. She stated the CP was trying to get the BPP to back and support the Peace and Freedom Party.

SF T-10, 3/4/68

BETTINA APTHEKER has publicly proclaimed herself a member of the CP in the "Daily Californian," the publication of the University of California.

BETTINA APTHEKER was at Sonoma State College working with young people passing out photographs of Malcolm X and suggesting Negro male adults take off on the anniversary of Malcolm's death as a protest.

SF T-12, 2/23/68

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WAC/dp

MALCOLM X is the former black
nationalist leader who was murdered
in 1965 by another Negro.

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther - Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

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APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

BU 100-442529

SF 100-53902

April 30, 1968

Title COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
 RACIAL MATTERS

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reference Report of SA WILLIAM A.
 COHENDET dated and captioned
 as above at San Francisco,
 California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

May 17, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

*Declassified by form # 0-79
on 2-14-77 JLV 7-5-77*

- 11 - Bureau (157-6-26) (RM)
- 1 - USA, Los Angeles (RM)
- 1 - NIS, San Diego (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Norton AFB (RM)
- 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

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~~GROUP I~~

~~excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

③ Los Angeles (157-943)
(1 - 100-66078) (CIRM)

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times", Los Angeles daily newspaper of May 8, 1968, II-4, was an editorial by [redacted] [redacted] praising a group of 153 successful Negro businessmen who had formed a Green Power Foundation to put money into the hands of "hopeless men who have never had any faith in America because America has never had any faith in them". The first project of the foundation was the establishment of a factory at 1150 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, to manufacture baseball bats called the "Watts Walloper". The foundation has plans to create more Negro-owned businesses in the Los Angeles area, and the Times commended the group on their enterprise.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL COMMITTEE (PTC)

On March 11, 1968, source one furnished a leaflet announcing a "people's trial" to be held in South Park, 51st Street and Avalon Boulevard on March 17, 1968, under auspices of the PTC to try Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) Officer, [redacted] for the killing of 18 year old Gregory Clarke on February 22, 1968. Source advised the leaflet was composed by [redacted] and was printed in the office of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights (LACDBR) (see appendix) on March 11, 1968.

On March 12, 1968, source two advised that as of that date, [redacted] was a member of the Southern California District, Communist Party.

The "People's World" (PW) of March 16, 1968, Page 3, reported that sponsors of the "trial" included the Black Congress, an association of 23 or more black nationalist groups in the Los Angeles area; the Black Panther Party, a militant black nationalist organization; the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; and the "US", a militant black nationalist group in Los Angeles.

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The PW is a west coast communist weekly newspaper.

On March 17, 1968, [redacted], Newton Division, LAPD, advised the mock trial, announced above, was held on that date. Wanted posters, charging Officer [redacted] with murder, were passed out, and sound trucks broadcasted in the area. Approximately 250 young Negro adults attended the gathering, which found Officer [redacted] "guilty".

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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In the Los Angeles "Herald-Examiner", Los Angeles daily newspaper of May 2, 1968, Page B-8, was an article reporting Mayor Samuel Yorty had warned the Los Angeles City Council that it would regret a proposed investigation of the killing of Gregory Clarke, and stated the Council should have left the investigation to the regular legal channels for solution.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 7, 1968, I-3, was an article reporting a heated two-hour discussion by the Los Angeles City Council over whether they should hold a hearing on the above case. The Council finally voted not to hold the hearing, under the strong objections of Councilmen Billy G. Mills and Thomas Bradley, both Negroes, who accused the Council of being "scared", "fearful" and "cowardly". Councilman James Potter, stated such a hearing would be trying the policeman in absentia, and identified Franklin Alexander, Chairman of the PTC, as a "Maoist Communist" and stated such persons were "under orders" to create disturbances.

In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 15, 1968, III-14, was an article reporting that the Central Chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Los Angeles, headed by Celes King III, Chapter President, had formed a rumor control center to check out inflammatory reports and disseminate the facts, to calm explosive situations. The center is to be located in South-Central Los Angeles and will operate around the clock. The center hopes to have direct lines to the LAPD, the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, the Los Angeles Fire Department, Central Receiving Hospital, the District Attorney's Office, and the news media so they can handle such rumors rapidly.

On May 16, 1968, source three, a Negro who is well-acquainted with the "man in the street", advised the racial situation in the South Los Angeles area appeared to be stable and relatively quiet at the present time, however, he was aware that black nationalists continue with plans to cause possible unrest in the area if their demands are not met. Source stated

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

the black nationalists consider the Poor People's March to Washington, D. C., to be of no consequence and they are not generally supporting it, however, would probably welcome any violence which might ensue and which might strengthen their position. Source could predict no violence in Los Angeles within the foreseeable future.

On May 17, 1968, source four, a high official of the LAPD, advised the racial situation in Los Angeles appeared to be calm and tension to be relatively slight, despite the People's Tribunal Committee (above) and the publicity surrounding the death of Gregory Clarke. Source stated there were some rumors of possible racial trouble on the anniversary of Malcolm-X's birthday on May 19, 1968. Source pointed out, however, there had been no major trouble last year and since this date falls on a Sunday, police did not expect any unusual incidents to result. Source did not predict any violence in Los Angeles in the near future.

- In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of May 16, 1968, Page 9-B, was an article reporting a "black-in" celebration at South Park, 51st Street and Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles, on May 19, 1968, the birthday of Malcolm-X, which is commonly called Malcolm-X Day. The celebration is to start at noon and continue throughout the afternoon. Unidentified movie and television personalities are expected to entertain.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The following organizations, referred to under the following sections, are active in the racial situation in the Los Angeles area:

Section II

A group of successful Negro businessmen has formed a Green Power Foundation to encourage the formation of new Negro businesses in the Los Angeles area.

Section VII

Project Action and the Venice Community Improvement Union are active in the racial situation: in the Venice area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Under Section VII below, [redacted] of
Project Action, and [redacted] of the Venice Community
Improvement Union are active in the racial situation in
the Venice area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE.
MAJOR URBAN AREAS.
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONNECTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", Los Angeles Negro weekly newspaper of May 2, 1968, Page 5-A, was an article reporting that the only Negro State Senator in California, Mervyn Dymally, had stated that unless the University of California stopped screening out minority group students with a new required six-hour admission test, there would be a "need to resort to the courts", to correct such discrimination. Dymally recognized that the University had supported a proposal that four percent, instead of two percent, of the entering students could be admitted who would not meet regular admission standards, but believed the above test would reduce, rather than increase, the number of applicants. Dymally indicated he was sponsoring three bills to improve the opportunities for minority students to attend college, and said the State could enroll more minority students "if we want it".

VENICE, CALIFORNIA

Venice is an area of the City of Los Angeles, immediately adjacent to Santa Monica, California. It is policed by the LAPD.

In the "Evening Outlook", daily newspaper of Santa Monica, California, of May 1, 1968, Page 1, was an article reporting that John Fleming, head of Project Action, a self-help group of young Negro adults, and Robert Castile of the Venice Community Improvement Union had trained eight workers to control street gatherings. The group will be known as the Venice Organizers and is funded by a special \$18,000.00 allocation from State and community funds. The group hopes to help young people find jobs, go back to school, and to cut down on gang activity. Robert E. Collins of the State Service Center program stated this was the first time the State had ever provided funds to a community to deal with its special problems.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 2, 1968, VII-1, was an article reporting the formation of the Venice Organizers. The article quoted Lieutenant Frank Wysocki, Community Relations Officer on the Venice Division, LAPD, has stated that if the group leads youngsters to more constructive ways of life and does not inject themselves into the area of police authority, the LAPD cannot object and would approve of the organization.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF
THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel" of April 25, 1968, Page C-11, was an article reporting that the LAPD had entered a "revolutionary new area in police-community relations" by hiring 20 new police employees who are ex-convicts. Ten of the men are from East Los Angeles, a predominately Mexican-American area, and ten are from the predominately Negro area of South-Central Los Angeles. Chief of Police, Thomas Reddin, told the men the success of the program was up to them, and if they failed, he would try again with a new group.

PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 2, 1968, Section S-1, was an article reporting a disagreement between the Pasadena Board of City Directors of the local Poverty Agency. The Poverty Agency wanted to spend \$100,000.00 in Federal funds for youth during the summer, emphasizing recreation, culture, camping, and education. The Board of Directors disagreed, indicating the primary emphasis should be on providing jobs and pocket money for such youths. The Poverty Agency, which controls the funds, turned down the request of the board for \$100,000.00 for a work program.

VENICE, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Times" of May 9, 1968, VIII-1, was an article reporting that an actors' workshop for youngsters in the Venice area had been started by actors Ricardo Montalban, James Whitmore, and Raymond St. Jacques. The workshop operates in the Wesley House, sponsored by the Methodist Church in the Venice area. Montalban stated he believed it was important for young people to be afforded a chance to express themselves. The group will produce plays and improvisations.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th Military Intelligence Unit, United States Army, Pasadena, to Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino, to Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; the United States Attorney, Los Angeles; and the United States Secret Service, Los Angeles, for the information and completion of their files.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS,
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations", revised December 1, 1961, pp. 103-104, describes this committee as follows:

1. "A 'branch' of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born found to be under the 'actual management, direction and supervision' of Communist Party members. The Los Angeles Committee was reorganized in October, 1950, and reported that it 'shall be affiliated to the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born ***'. The American Committee and the 'various area or local committees * * * constitute * * * one organization within the meaning of the * * * statute (Internal Security Act)' under which the Subversive Activities Control Board found the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be a 'Communist-front organization' and ordered it to register as such with the Attorney General."

(Subversive Activities Control Board, Docket No. 109-53, Report and Order with respect to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, June 27, 1960, pp. 41, 8, 12, and 51.)

2. "Cited as a 'regional' organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and one of its 'most complex affiliates.' The Committee on Un-American Activities found that in early publications the local affiliates frankly identified themselves as chapters of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born'; their representation of themselves as independent groups came only after enactment of the Internal Security Act which would have required them, as affiliates, to register as Communist-front organizations'.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
formerly known as Los Angeles Committee for
Protection of Foreign Born, Los Angeles Committee for
Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born

"Control of the local organization * * * was made possible primarily by virtue of the fact that the leaders of the local group were Communist Party members and therefore, subject to the discipline of the Party * * * The local affiliates * * * were actually little more than administrative staffs, whose purpose it was to implement the program of the Communist Party in their respective areas.

"The Lamp of January 1950, reported that the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born had been established on November 29, 1949. Publicly identified Communist ROSE CHERNIN served as 'the operation head' since the time of its organization.

"(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1182, on Communist Political Subversion, August 16, 1957, pp. 86, 87, 55, 33, 54, 58 and 59; also cited in Annual Report for 1956, House Report #53, February 11, 1957, p. 5.)"

The "People's World", a West Coast communist newspaper, issue of 4/23/66, contained an account of results of the 16th Annual Conference of the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights and Protection of Foreign Born which was held 4/16/66. The accomplishments include a change of name for the organization to Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, inasmuch as Defense of the Bill of Rights is all inclusive.

A source advised on 5/16/67 that the Los Angeles Committee for Defense of the Bill of Rights, still referred to by many individuals as the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently active in the Los Angeles area.

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

May 17, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. LA 157-943

Title	POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE MAJOR URBAN AREAS
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Los Angeles letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

Date: 5/17/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943) (P)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTER

Re Los Angeles airtel and LHM to Director dated 5/3/68.
Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM,
dated and captioned as above.

Local military agencies; the U. S. Secret Service,
Los Angeles; and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been
furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division
have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately
to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and
sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
1	<input type="text"/>
2	<input type="text"/>
3	<input type="text"/>
4	<input type="text"/>

3 - Bureau (Encs. 11)
3 - Los Angeles
① - 100-66078 - (CIRM)

LDJ/cag
(6)

[Handwritten signature]

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED N
FILED N

100-66078-1543

b7D

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OFFICE COPY

LA 157-943

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by sources one through four could reasonably result in identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise the future effectiveness thereof.

In the two-week period from 5/6/68 - 5/17/68 , fifteen PCI's and no PSI's were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 04-14-2011

5/23/68

Date received 5-8-68	File number	Received by SA Robert C. Norton
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks):
 in person
 by telephone
 by mail
 orally
 recording device
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If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Date	Date of Report
	Date(s) of activity 5-6-68

Brief description of activity or material
 Letter To All Districts

File where original is located if not attached

Remarks:
 C.C. Baltimore
 100 - 10584 Jacobson
 100 - 23443 CIRM

2 C.C. New York (RM)
 100 - Organization CP, USA
 100 - CIRM

(1) C.C. Los Angeles (RM)
 100 - (CIRM)

Original received from
 BA 975-5 5/8/68 Xerox
 and returned to the
 informant 5/8/68.

100-66078*
 100-24345*

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MAY 19 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAY 23 1968	
FBI - BALTIMORE	

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To All Districts:

From Negro Affairs & Organization Departments

Subject: Emergency National Action Needed to Protest Racist
Terror in Los Angeles

Saturday May 4 at 5 AM seven people were arrested at a private residence in Los Angeles.

The arrested, [redacted] and [redacted] a student at Texas Southern University, [redacted] were booked on a charge of armed robbery, a non-bailable offense. They were released on a writ of Habeas Corpus on bail fixed at \$6,200 each.

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The arrests follow a series of acts of racist terror by police, all calculated to incite a white backlash and halt the developing black protests.

February 18 Gregory Clarke, a young black man, was shot down in cold blood by police in Los Angeles. Witnesses testified that the killing was without provocation. The Coroners' jury found "Justifiable Homicide."

Los Angeles SNCC issued a Call for a community protest meeting. On March 17 it held a "People's Tribunal." A hearing was demanded before the City Council and the punishment of the police insisted upon. The Community was aroused.

Following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis, Tennessee April 4, the SNCC Los Angeles offices were raided. Five members were arrested, furniture and office files destroyed.

Prior to the arrest of the seven, Chief of Police Reddin issued a statement to the effect that conspiracy charges would be used against such militant organizations as SDS and especially SNCC.

~~Those arrested on the armed robbery charge have been active in SNCC activities, including the "People's Tribunal." A hearing before the City Council on the February police murder has been set for May 8th. The Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights declares that present harrassment is designed to keep those arrested from appearing before the City Council. Substantiating evidence lies in the fact that the preliminary hearing in the cases of the seven young people has been set for approximately the same hour on Wednesday, May 8th, as the City Council meeting, despite the fact that legally it is required to be held on Tuesday, May 7th, within 48 hours of the arrest.~~

Telegrams and other protest communications should be sent to Samuel Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles, and Thomas Reddin, Chief of Police, City Hall, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012.

The immediate release of the seven should be demanded with all charges dropped in this case.

in Memphis, Tennessee April 4, the SNCC Los Angeles offices were raided. Five members were arrested, furniture and office files destroyed.

Prior to the arrest of the seven, Chief of Police Reddin issued a statement to the effect that conspiracy charges would be used against such militant organizations as SDS and especially SNCC.

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Telegrams and other protest communications should be sent to Samuel Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles, and Thomas Reddin, Chief of Police, City Hall, Los Angeles, Calif., 90012.

The immediate release of the seven should be demanded with all charges dropped in time for them to be able to testify before the City Council Wednesday, May 8th.

Mayor Yorty should call upon the City Council to suspend the police implicated in the murder of Gregory Clarke.

A pattern of racist terror spear-headed by mounting police brutality is being officially initiated in Los Angeles.

A national protest movement is needed to quash it.

Further information can be obtained from the Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights, 326 W. Third St., Room 318, Los Angeles, California, MA 5-2169 or MA 5-2160.

May 2, 1968

To All Districts and N.C. Members
From National Organization Department

Subject: Special Convention Documents

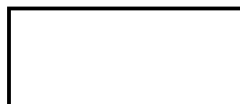
Dear Comrades:

In accordance with the decision of the National Committee, there are to be three draft documents for the Special Convention. These are:

1. The Second Draft of the Program.
2. A document on the elections. The April N.E.B. meeting decided this was to be ready for shipping to the Districts May 15.
3. Draft Statement on Party Building which appeared in mimeographed form and is now out in Party Affairs, Vol. 2, #3, April 1968 in free quantity enough for every member.

The report on electoral developments by Comrade Hall to the January N.C. meeting which was mimeo'd and sent in quantity sufficient for one per club was intended as material for the pre-convention discussion but is not a draft document that will come before the Special Convention.

Comradely yours,



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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

June 20, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEARCHED

INDEXED

SERIALIZED

FILED

11-Bureau (157-6-26)

1-OSI

1-Region II

1-NIS

1-Secret Service

1-U.S. Attorney

3-Los Angeles (157-943)

(1-100-66078)

TBL:gcw

(19)

100-66078-1569

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. The information set forth is based on the comments and views of local Government officials, police officials, leaders of various racial groups, established sources, and public source information, and pertains to the racial situation as of the time the comments and views are expressed; the possibility that the racial situation in a particular area may abruptly change at any time should be taken into consideration.

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past unless otherwise indicated.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

I. NAME OF COMMUNITY, CURRENT OVER-ALL
POPULATION AND PERCENTAGE RELATIONSHIP
OF NEGRO OR OTHER PERTINENT RACIAL
MINORITY POPULATION TO OVER-ALL POPULATION

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

II. GENERAL RACIAL CONDITIONS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Watts Manufacturing Company

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", a Los Angeles Negro weekly newspaper, of May 30, 1968, page D1, was an article reporting on the Watts Manufacturing Company and it reported that this company has been a major contributor to the change of scene in the Watts area since the 1965 riots. It reflected that this company was formed through the efforts of DAN KIMBALL, an executive of the Aerojet General Corporation, and Mr. JAMES WOODS, a prominent Los Angeles industrialist.

The article pointed out that one of the greatest assets of the Watts Manufacturing Company was that it employed people who heretofore had been considered as hardcore unemployable. Further, these were the very same people who, a few months before, were at the doors of welfare offices and social agencies in search of funds with which to live.

Through the efforts of the Watts Manufacturing Company, these people have been placed in meaningful jobs where they can earn a respectable salary and find a place in society.

When the company opened its doors to all of these persons, it began training programs with the few trained personnel in the plant. Within a matter of months, the company was functioning and orders were being received from the Federal Government for massive groups of tents. These tents are not one or two-man tents, but huge 50-foot shelters that are used as field hospitals and barracks in this country. The workers are young and the average age is 27 years. The company hopes to achieve a ratio of 70 per cent civilian production as compared to only 30 per cent defense work.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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Equitable Life Assurance
Society of the United States

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", of May 30, 1968, page 8A, an article reported that the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States had allotted two million dollars to financial institutions in Los Angeles for their use in making loans to home owners in low and moderate income areas. The loans, which will be made from the two million dollars, will be only for rebuilding and rehabilitating one to four family owner occupied homes in Federally designated poverty areas. The money awarded by Equitable is part of its 83 million dollar commitment in the life insurance industry's one billion dollar program to help eradicate slums in American cities. According to this article, the industry has committed or disbursed more than 325 million dollars for this purpose since the program began last September.

In addition, job creating facilities are being financed in the city core areas, including industrial plants, hospitals, medical clinics, shopping facilities, and social service centers.

PACOIMA, CALIFORNIA

Pacoima is a part of the City of Los Angeles in San Fernando Valley, approximately 20 miles from downtown Los Angeles.

The "Los Angeles Sentinel", on June 6, 1968, carried the following article on page 4D:

The former [redacted] of the Pacoima Anti-Poverty Program and a co-defendant were sentenced to life imprisonment last week on convictions of kidnap and robbery, in Superior Court, Los Angeles. These men were [redacted] 26, of [redacted], Pacoima, the former [redacted] of the Pacoima Anti-Poverty Program; and [redacted] age 26, of Los Angeles. [redacted] was [redacted] of the Federally funded "Street Scene" project in Pacoima which was authorized

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

\$242,316.00 from the Office of Economic Opportunity. He was suspended from this post pending outcome of the charges, having been arrested last September after witnesses identified him in connection with a \$600 liquor store robbery.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

III. CURRENT EVALUATION OF VIOLENCE POTENTIAL

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Mexican-American Affairs

On May 3, 1968, Source 1 advised that a meeting was held on Tuesday, March 26, 1968 in Los Angeles, California, sponsored by the East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization and that this meeting was attended by over 200 individuals. One of the speakers from a black militant group stated that there will be less chaos this summer from the Negro and they will be helping the Mexican militant movement, and that nothing could happen in the Mexican community this summer.

In the "People's World", a weekly West Coast communist newspaper, of June 1, 1968 on page 3, an article reported an incident in connection with the Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity at the University of California at Los Angeles as follows:

On May 18, 1968, the fraternity had a party at its campus house which had as its motif "Viva Zapata". Outside the fraternity house was a large sign which read "closed party, no Negroes, no Japs, no Zapata, no Zorros, no dogs". Inside there was a drawing of a large Mexican flag with an obscene gesture replacing the eagle.

The United Mexican-American Students Chapter on Campus, together with other black and white radical groups at the University of California at Los Angeles, immediately protested the above.

Chancellor Franklin Murphy, University of California at Los Angeles, promised the protesting students he would order the offending fraternity to apologize to the Mexican-American community as well as to the Mexican Government. In addition, the fraternity would be suspended until September 1, 1969. Chancellor Murphy also stated that Interfraternity Council's

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

jurisdiction over fraternity rules would be limited to those matters not superseded by the university administration and that Mexican-American and black applicants for admission will receive expanded educational opportunities at the university.

Black Nationalists

On April 26, 1968, Source 2 advised that a meeting of "US" (see appendix attached) was held on April 21, 1968 at 74th Street and Broadway in Los Angeles. About 80 persons attended the meeting, at which [redacted] spoke, and indicated that he and other black nationalist groups were responsible for keeping Los Angeles calm following Dr. King's murder. He indicated he had the "honkies" fooled because his group was ready to cause trouble at any time and he felt that the murder of King was part of a conspiracy.

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THOUSAND OAKS, CALIFORNIA

Thousand Oaks, California is a community in San Fernando Valley approximately 39 miles from downtown Los Angeles.

On April 17, 1968, head varsity football coach Robert Shoup, California Lutheran College, Thousand Oaks, California, furnished the following information:

The Negro student enrollment at California Lutheran College (CLC) number about 32 of a total enrollment of 1,000 students. The Negro student attitude and demeanor toward the professors and the school administration has completely changed during the past school year. The Negro students have withdrawn and discontinued association with the white students at the school. Coach Shoup is of the opinion that this change in attitude has been caused from an outside source that is counseling the students and has possibly been responsible for the appearance of radical, militant Negro leaders and an obscene play on the campus. Coach Shoup is of the opinion that this division in the students could cause racial problems on the campus.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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On May 20, 1968, Source 3 advised an individual by the name of [redacted], who is known as Brother [redacted] and whose true name is [redacted] is an officer in a militant, black nationalist organization headquartered in Detroit. He is from Detroit. [redacted] spoke at 430 East Compton Boulevard, Compton, California, to a group of Black Nationalists on May 18, 1968, and related as follows:

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[redacted] chided the group for the open display of firearms, and explicitly pointed out that a heavy concentration of gun power did not necessarily guarantee effective fire power. He used as an example the guerilla warfare being waged in Vietnam. He continued giving a detailed statistical analysis of the kill ratio and the mechanics of firearm power control that was used by Vietnamese regulars and Vietcong guerillas in the Far East. He suggested that fire teams be formed consisting of four individuals, all of whom are known to each other, and that three of these persons be armed with semi-automatic weapons and the fourth armed with an automatic weapon.

He stated that the days of riots were over and in the future the blacks are going to engage in open hostilities, simultaneously, in various parts of the United States in the form of guerilla warfare using small, well-trained fire teams. He also suggested that grenades and rocket launchers could be effective to a limited degree. He spoke for approximately 30 minutes.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

IV. IDENTITIES OF ORGANIZATIONS
INVOLVED IN LOCAL RACIAL SITUATION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

V. IDENTITIES OF LEADERS AND
INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VI. EXISTENCE OF CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION
BETWEEN MINORITY LEADERS AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

No change.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

VII. OBJECTIVES SOUGHT BY MINORITY COMMUNITY
AND POSSIBLE POINTS OF CONNECTION

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", May 30, 1968,
page 8C, an article appeared as follows:

A few months ago, the Office of Economic Opportunity, a Federal agency, released the new regulations concerning local governments and poverty programs, whereby the local government may choose to become the community action agency or may designate a public or private agency.

At the present time, about 80 per cent of the local community action programs are operated by private, non-profit groups.

Before a change of community action agencies can occur, however, a public dissemination hearing must be held in which interested persons can express their views.

By July 1, 1968, community action boards must meet the following requirements: There must be no more than 51 members; one-third of the members are to be public officials; at least one-third are to be representative of the poor in the area to be served; the remainder of the numbers are to be representative of business, industry, labor, religion, welfare, education, or other major groups and interest in the community.

At present, city governments in Pasadena, Long Beach and Los Angeles have taken over their community action agencies.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
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VIII. REACTION OF LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF
THE COMMUNITY TO MINORITY DEMANDS

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

In the "Los Angeles Sentinel", May 30, 1968, page 10C, the following article appeared:

Eight youth employment centers are now being set up by churches in Los Angeles with the possibility of more to be developed. This is being done in response to the urban crisis and is being called "Project Hire". Eight city churches have opened their sites as centers for Project Hire, with four to eight nearby churches rendering assistance to each center. Strong efforts are being made to mobilize suburban churches to cooperate in this program.

The participating churches have suspended their normal summer programs in order to devote all of their time and energy to this program, and pre-registration for the program will be June 6, 1968. Full-time operation will begin June 17, 1968. The centers expect to operate Monday through Friday from 6:30 a.m. to 2:30 p.m. until the end of August, and volunteers to work at each center are urgently needed. The center will register and obtain background information on young people 15 years and up for jobs on a part-time and full-time basis and attempt to place these applicants in community jobs.

The "Los Angeles Sentinel", May 30, 1968, page 10D, carried the following article concerning a proposed youth camp:

A proposal to turn the city's one-time drunk farm in Saugus, a community approximately 20 miles from downtown Los Angeles, over to the Watts Labor Community Action Committee (WLCAC) was proposed by the Los Angeles City Council Recreation and Parks Committee.

WLCAC is a Negro, self-help community action program for the betterment of the Watts area of Los Angeles.

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POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
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The committee endorsed leasing the Saugus Rehabilitation Center (drunk farm) to WLCAC for the purpose of a summer youth program.

The WLCAC plans to conduct a six-week summer camping program for more than 3,000 disadvantaged youngsters.

The City Council's Finance Committee was considering leasing the 500 acre facility to WLCAC for \$23,150 to open the center for the summer program. They have already approved \$26,850 for that purpose.

It has been estimated that the over-all WLCAC program will approach \$500,000.

The WLCAC has assured city officials the funds will be provided by non-government groups.

Construction of a 40 x 80 foot swimming pool and wading pool at the center is presently underway, and beds and blankets have already been shipped.

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished to Region II, 115th MI, U.S. Army, Pasadena; Office of Special Investigations, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino; Naval Investigative Service, San Diego; U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles; and the U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency..

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APPENDIX

"US", Also known as
"US" Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1966, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose . . . based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture."

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled, "The Quotable [redacted], authored by [redacted] also known as [redacted] of "US".
Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

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"...US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture. . . .The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos. . . .We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically. . . ."

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

"...You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. . . .The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. . . .When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are. . . ."

— Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"...We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. . . .We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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APPENDIX CONTINUED

to get power by talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power. ..."

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"...The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when the thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. ..."

"...Jesus said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow'. Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes', or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Madinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. ..."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable [redacted]".

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The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third, and highest level of membership, is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

APPENDIX



*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
June 20, 1968

Title	POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE MAJOR URBAN AREAS
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Los Angeles memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

F B I

Date: 6/20/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-6-26)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-943) (P)
RE: POSSIBLE RACIAL VIOLENCE
MAJOR URBAN AREAS
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Los Angeles airtel and letterhead memorandum (LHM) to the Bureau dated 6/4/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above.

Local military agencies, U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles, and the U. S. Attorney, Los Angeles, have been furnished a copy of the LHM.

Informants and sources of the Los Angeles Division have been instructed to report any racial situation immediately to the Los Angeles Division. As additional informants and sources are developed, they are instructed to do the same.

The following sources were utilized in this LHM:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
1	[redacted], PRI-GHETTO, member, East Los Angeles Welfare Rights Organization

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3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (AM-REGISTERED)
3 - Los Angeles
(1) 100-66078) (CRM)
TBL/gcw
(6)

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED OK
FILED OK

100-66078-1570

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

OFFICE COPY

LA 157-943

<u>Source</u>	<u>Identity of Source</u>
---------------	---------------------------

2	[REDACTED]
---	------------

PRI

3	[REDACTED]
---	------------

Information regarding the California Lutheran College was obtained by SA [REDACTED] through his son, [REDACTED] who is a graduate student at the college and a resident assistant at the student dormitory.

The LHM is classified confidential because data furnished by Sources 1, 2, and 3, could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise future effectiveness thereof.

In the two week period from 6/3/68 through 6/15/68, 5 PCIs and 2 PSIs were advised according to Bureau instructions regarding the Bureau's continuing interest in racial matters.

Close liaison is being maintained with representatives of police departments and sheriff's offices regarding the current racial situation in the Los Angeles Division.

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Cover Sheet for Informant Report or Material
FD-306 (Rev. 3-13-68)

DATE 04-14-2011

Date prepared:

7-1-68

Date received

6-26-68

Received from (name or symbol number)

[Redacted]

Received by

PS

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date

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b7D

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

Date(s) of activity

Brief description of activity or material

*Program Material on Black
liberation prepared by Bill
Taylor for SCLCP Convention*

File where original is located if not attached

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

100-66078-1572

Block Stamp

[Block Stamp area with handwritten initials and a signature]

PROGRAM MATERIAL ON BLACK LIBERATION

By W.C.T.

The demand for Negro freedom raised by our Party is centered on the slogan: "For full social, economic and political equality". We feel it is the strategic demand of the Negro people. To take steps to make this slogan a reality, we support the supplementary slogans raised within the framework of "Black Power", such as: "black control of the black community", "community police review boards composed of the indiginous population", etc. As a matter of fact, we support the many demands even though they are bourgeois democratic and reformist in their nature.

The most urgent and consistent need of the community for winning these demands is 1) all-class unity, and 2) working-class leadership.

For attaining this, we adhere to the Leninist principle of "the fuller national equality the clearer will workers of the oppressed nationalities see the cause of their oppression is capitalism, not lack of rights". A substantial alliance of labor and the black liberation movement is needed as part of the fight for working class leadership of the liberation movement. A step in this direction must be the winning of the black labor leaders to play a more active role in the militant mass movements.

The upsurges and rebellions in the black communities, beginning with the Watts rebellion of 1965, have produced many reports beginning with the McCone Report, now highlighted with the Koerner Report. These reports have given prominence to the issue of racism and although some laws have been passed and minor steps have been taken, little has been done to alleviate the fundamental questions raised in these reports.

Police brutality continues. School boards resist changes to equalize the schools. The rate of unemployment is maintained; in some areas it has increased. There is practically no change in housing, even here where it has been worsened by rising property taxes which have been transferred to the renters. The only real action taken in the Watts community has been the start of a hospital, in 1968, two years after the shooting of Deadwyler.

We must now prepare for some shifts in our theoretical views on the Negro question. The National Negro Commission is urging that beginning with this convention and running until our next Party convention a full-blown discussion take place on some of the problems relating to our position on the question of black liberation here in the U.S. A few of the points that are open to discussion are: The three-fold character of the Negro question--class, national and racial--and that while one or the other of these may dominate the struggle at a given time, all three must be considered in the development of any program or approach on the solution of the Negro questions. Such questions as are the Negro people a nationality, a national minority, a racial group, or are they a nation, need reopening and exploration.

Another aspect of this is an open discussion of the question of racism. This question is presented in the Party Program, second draft, page 30 of section III, where it says: "Clearly the persistence of racism, the failure to comprehend the new levels of the freedom struggle among whites, reinforces separatist and accomodationist trends in the black community. On the other hand, determined effective struggle against racism in the white community, tangible actions of solidarity by white workers, will reinforce the position of black workers within the freedom movement, and strengthen the fight for a great democratic alliance that contests for power with monopoly--the real beneficiary and maintainer of Negro oppression." Steps in this direction are necessary if we are to get on the road to the beginning of ending racism as a way of American life.

We do believe that only socialism can really bring fulfillment of Negro aspirations for freedom, because it abolishes man's exploitation by man, the need for division in the working class or the playing of one group against the other withers away, and man can then live in real peace, freedom and equality.

6/26/68
B.J.K.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

7/18/68

SAC, SAN DIEGO (100-13295) (P*)

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Re San Diego letter 4/3/68.

No pertinent information developed since referenced
letter.

San Diego will continue to follow activities of
the Communist Party and other subversive groups and submit
quarterly report or letter as indicated.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- ① - Los Angeles (100-66078) (RM) (Info)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (Info) (RM)
- 2 - San Diego

RET:gdf
(8)

100-1-66078-1588

jel
jel
ph

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SACRAMENTO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 7/24/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/25/68 - 7/24/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY SA 	TYPED BY sy
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA at Sacramento, 4/30/68.

b6
b7C
b7D

- P* -

INFORMANTS:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
SC T-1 	

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						None	ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW								
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) See Cover Page "B" 3 - Sacramento (100-138) 1 - Los Angeles (RM)		<p style="text-align: right; font-size: 1.2em;"><i>100-66078-1605</i></p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>SEARCHED</td> <td>INDEXED</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SERIALIZED <i>N</i></td> <td>FILED <i>N</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">JUL 29 1968</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">FBI - LOS ANGELES</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>W.P. White</i></p>	SEARCHED	INDEXED	SERIALIZED <i>N</i>	FILED <i>N</i>	JUL 29 1968		FBI - LOS ANGELES	
SEARCHED	INDEXED									
SERIALIZED <i>N</i>	FILED <i>N</i>									
JUL 29 1968										
FBI - LOS ANGELES										

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency					
Request Recd.					
Date Fwd.					
How Fwd.					
By					

SC 100-138

Copies Made:

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- 1 - OSI, 19th District, Travis AFB
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- 1 - U. S. Secret Service, Sacramento
- 2 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
- ① - Los Angeles (100-66078) (RM) (Info)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-53902) (RM) (Info)
- 3 - Sacramento (100-138)

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA:

Information copies furnished Los Angeles and San Francisco because of their mutual interest in activities throughout the State of California.

LEADS:

SACRAMENTO DIVISION

AT SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

Will follow and report Communist influence in racial matters.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - OSI, 19th District, Travis AFB
1 - 115th M.I. Group, Sacramento
1 - NISO, San Francisco
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Sacramento

Report of: SA [REDACTED] b6 Office: Sacramento
Date: July 24, 1968 b7C
Field Office File #: SC 100-138 Bureau File #: 100-442529
Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Synopsis:

Communist Party (CP) Club in Chico, California, disbanded and efforts to enlist Negroes into CP have ceased.

- P* -

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST PARTY STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, USA

SC T-1 (May 20, 1968)

Source advised that the Communist Party (CP) Club in Chico, California had disbanded and that the CP's efforts to enlist Negroes into the CP had ceased.

-1*-



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Sacramento, California
July 24, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST
Reference	Report of SA [redacted] at Sacramento, California, dated July 24, 1968

b6
b7C

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN FRANCISCO	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 7/25/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 4/1 - 6/30/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY WILLIAM A. COHENDET	TYPED BY jl
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA WILLIAM A. COHENDET, dated 4/30/68, at San Francisco.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being submitted to Los Angeles and New York for information.

This report is being classified ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ because the information furnished by confidential informants recorded herein could reasonably result in their identification and affect their future usefulness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529)(RM) 2 - 115th MI Group (RM) 1 - NISO, 12ND (RM) 1 - OSI, 19th District (RM) ① - Los Angeles (100-66078)(Info.)(RM) 1 - New York (100-153735)(Info.)(RM) 3 - San Francisco (100-53902)		100-66078-1606 SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____ SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____ JUL 29 1968 FBI - LOS ANGELES <i>W.R. White</i>

Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations
Agency	Request Recd.	Date Fwd.	How Fwd.	By	

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File Where Located

SF T-1 is

Instant file

SF T-2 is

SF T-3 is

b6
b7C
b7D

SF T-4 is

SF T-5 is

SF T-6 is

SF T-7 is

PSI

SF T-8 is

Instant file

LEAD

SAN FRANCISCO Will follow and report matters pertaining to captioned Subject. Next report being due October 30, 1968.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

Copy to: 2 - 115th MI Group (RM)
1 - NISO - 12ND (RM)
1 - OSI - 19th District (RM)

Report of: WILLIAM A. COHENDET Office: SAN FRANCISCO
Date: 7/25/68

Field Office File #: 100-53902 Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis:

Communist Party (CP) national leadership during current period expressed belief that Vietnam crisis and the murder of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING gave the Party an opportunity to make real gains in the racial field. CP candidate for President of the United States, [REDACTED] was in San Francisco in July, 1968, to offer assistance to the Black Panther Party (BPP) in the HUEY NEWTON murder trial in Oakland, California. No specific areas of aid proposed by the BPP leadership. Afro-American Commission, NCDPC, called for complete independence for Negro labor unions and for recognition of BPP as only organization paying attention to real Negro problems. It was urged that the CP support all BPP candidates running for political office. ROSCOE PROCTOR, Negro National Committeeman, CPUSA, advised Negro CP club members against acts of sabotage and fire bombing saying it was official CP policy to forbid such activity by Party members and any violations would result in expulsion from the Party. East Bay Ghetto Club CP has only seven or eight members of the Negro race. Influence of CP among Negro element not noted as extensive and East Bay Ghetto Club admittedly has magnified its role in reports to the CP District Office. Some white CP Club members not in agreement with the very militant Negro movement and other whites have been accused of "white chauvinism". Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in its monthly magazine of June, 1968, urged members to defend the BPP free HUEY NEWTON and ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

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b7c

- P* -
~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~
GROUP I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and declassification

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

DETAILS:

I. COMMUNIST STRATEGY

A. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

1. At a meeting of the Illinois District Communist Party held in Chicago, April 6 and 7, 1968, sponsored by the National Trade Union Commission, CPUSA GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CPUSA, eulogized Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING and blamed racism for his murder. HALL called the Negro reaction to the slaying "completely justified". HALL assigned three Party leaders to draw up a resolution on KING's death.

In this connection ALBERT J. LIMA, San Francisco CP leader, mentioned that 75,000 white people had marched for peace in San Francisco earlier and he wondered if they could get the same 75,000 to march against racism on April 27, 1968.

GEORGE MEYERS, Chairman of the National Trade Union Commission, CPUSA, stated that the financial crisis, the failure of the public to support the war in Vietnam and the assassination of KING offered the Party an opportunity to make real gains especially in the industrial concentrations. The Party line should be "peace" and "equality for Negroes".

SF T-1
4/8/68

Newscaster [redacted], Channel 2 Television, Oakland, California, on July 16, 1968, stated that [redacted] [redacted] Negro CP candidate for President of the United States, was in the Bay Area on that date and had offered her support to the Black Panther Party (BPP) in their attempts to free HUEY NEWTON. No details of her offer were disclosed by [redacted]. HUEY NEWTON is the self-described Minister of Defense for the BPP and is presently in Alameda County Jail awaiting trial for murder of an Oakland police officer.

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A characterization of the BPP is contained in the Appendix.

SAC 100-53902

WAC:jl

The "San Francisco Chronicle" issue of July 17, 1968, carried a news story that [] was in the Bay Area to offer aid of the CPUSA to the BPP in any way desired. [] said that she had spoken to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP about this matter but CLEAVER had no specific request to make for assistance. [] said that CLEAVER had accepted her offer as he would an offer from any other citizen.

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The CPUSA according to ROSCOE PROCTOR, publicly-admitted member of the National Committee, had an official view on sabotage and fire bombing.

At a meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club on April 18, 1968, PROCTOR stated that the CPUSA does not condone violence such as sabotage and fire bombing and did not want to be blamed for any such destructive activity by others. Any Party member indulging in such action would be immediately expelled. Furthermore, the Party would deny that anyone belonging to the Party would do such a thing, and if a Party member got himself involved the Party would deny that he had ever been a member and would refuse him any assistance in case of prosecution. PROCTOR, who is a Negro, stated that the white leadership of the CP was responsible for this attitude but said that since this was the Party line members had to adhere to it and those wishing to do otherwise would do so at their own risk.

SF T-2
4/23/68

2. PLANS FROM DISTRICT LEVEL

A report on the Negro question was presented to the Northern California District CP (NCDCP) Convention held at Berkeley, June 15, and 16, 1968. This report stated as follows:

Party Program - Afro-American Commission

THE THREE-FOLD CHARACTER OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN QUESTION
WITHIN THE U.S.: RACE, NATIONAL, AND CLASS

I. Race

"The people of different countries differ greatly from each other in the colour of the skin, hair and eyes, the type of hair, the shape of the eyelids, nose, lips, face and head, in the length of the body and its proportions. These features vary noticeably among people of one country, but a certain combination of them has a fairly stable hereditary character and serve as a basis for classifying those who possess them as belonging to a particular race."--The Races of Mankind, by M. Nesturkh

From the 17th century up until the Civil War, the black people brought to this country as slaves came mainly from tribal formations of the "Negroid" peoples of West Africa. Their distinctive racial characteristics have been used to develop many pseudo-scientific theories of black race inferiority in order to justify racism and our national oppression.

II. National Character

While possessing their own tribal languages, customs, morals, traditions, Africans had not yet developed nationhood. Modern nations appeared on the scene only with the development of capitalism.

The nationality of black people in the US derives from their transformation, during three centuries of slavery, from millions of individuals of numerous tribes inhabiting different territories of Africa and speaking different languages, into communities of people having a definite community of language (English) and territory (slave-exploiting areas of the US) and a certain community of economic life (agriculture, building trades, culinary and household arts) and psychological makeup, manifesting itself in a common culture. This formation of the Negro nationality in the US in conditions of slavery conformed to the universal pattern of evolution from the clan, tribe, and confederation of tribes in the period of pre-capitalist productive relations. However, in contrast to the development of other nationalities into nations under the aegis of capitalist productive relations, and notwithstanding the emancipation of the slaves in 1863 and the subsequent supplanting of slave and feudal productive relations by capitalist relations, this embryonic national development of US Negroes was suspended, "frozen," and remains so today:

Migration and urbanization have divorced Afro-Americans from the land; that is, from a common territory that would rivet the nationality together in a stable community and facilitate the development to nationhood. Afro-Americans today live throughout the country within compact majorities of other nationalities. Despite their dispersion, however, these 23 million US citizens are separated from the rest of the population, irrespective of class, occupational, religious or ethnic characteristics, by ghettos, segregation and discrimination. Thus, Afro-Americans remain a separate national group with a separate national character.

The question has been raised: "But if the black people in the US did not come from an already existing nation how can they be considered a nationality or a national minority? In answer to that question, we say that nationality or national character is a feature of nationhood which is formed and must form as a condition for development into nationhood. Living a common economic life and in the same conditions of life, people develop common traits of national character; the systematic intercourse between considerable numbers of people leads to the creation of a common culture which is national in form. A common psychological makeup is influenced by the material conditions of life--it is a coagulation of impressions derived by people from their environment. Thus, black people have developed nationality and a national

A major aspect of the special and national character of the oppression of Afro-Americans in the US is cultural oppression, manifested in the common meaning of "culture" -- the culture of the classical Northern European ruling class -- slavery's history; enforced illiteracy; and forcible replacement of African languages, religions, and institutions by English, Christianity and slavery; the suppression and distortion of African and Afro-American history in the schools; the setting up, in the mass media, of the white middle and upper classes as standards of beauty, life style, values and behavior, and in every other aspect of American life. The Afro-American "way of life" is in almost every aspect a culture of resistance and response to oppression. Cultural oppression acts, to the extent to which it is successful, to undermine the unity and sense of identity required in the Afro-American people's struggle to control their own destiny; hence the increasing emphasis on pride in black culture and national identity, the rejection of conforming to white middle class standards as the price for political, economic or social equality, is a major weapon against the special oppression of the Afro-American people.

The concept of national minority as used in the past few years implies that black people are an integral part of the North American nation and that they will proceed towards total integration uninterruptedly without first passing through some form of control of their own community or enjoying some of the special rights and compensatory measures which must be accorded an oppressed people. Before real equality can be achieved this concept must be re-examined.

III. Class Character of the Black People in the US

Though discriminated against and oppressed as a people, all of the economic classes which are common to the capitalist mode of production are to be found among Afro-Americans: black people are working farmers and agricultural workers, a small percentage of them belong to the urban middle class--professionals and small businessmen--and an even smaller percentage are black capitalists. But in their overwhelming majority--77 to 90%--black people in the US belong to the industrial working class.

The Afro-American People in the US an Oppressed People

Afro-American people in the US are oppressed as a people in every field of economic, political, social, and cultural life. This oppression is confirmed by the record of history, the statements of scientists and scholars, the statistics of both official governmental and private fact-finding agencies, and the culture of black people themselves, including numerous appeals for justice directed to authorities such as the United Nations.

As Afro-Americans, the black workers share the same aspirations to be free of oppression as all other Afro-Americans, and they therefore participate in the Afro-American liberation movement. As workers, they also share the same aspirations to end capitalist exploitation as the North American working class, and therefore participate in the working class movement.

Racism and Super Exploitation of Afro-Americans

The white chauvinist variety of racism arose during the slave trade, which was a method of primitive accumulation pursued by the rising bourgeoisie of Europe.

When the slave trade encountered opposition, the profiteers from this inhuman business devised arguments of the alleged inferiority and subhuman character of Africans, to justify the traffic.

Similarly, when slavery in the US came under attack from the abolitionists, the slave-owners and their sympathizers among the northern bourgeoisie developed an entire body of racist thought: history, biology, psychology, anthropology, religion, philosophy, science were bent to the service of racist propaganda. Those arguments were the forerunners of present-day white chauvinism: From the big monopolies and bankers to the landlords and small

businessmen, all sections of the business community profit from racism and discrimination today. The elaborate and complex apparatus of state forces, governmental institutions, administrative controls, laws, customs and organizations which oppress the Afro-American nationality have as their primary objective--the protection of the wealth and the further enrichment of those who own and control the country's productive resources. In particular, the disfranchisement of Afro-Americans through outright denial of voting rights or through fraud or gerrymandering, results in all levels of government being loaded with the most reactionary labor-hating officials, many of whom control major committees of congress and kill progressive legislation, retarding the country as a whole.

Racism justifies oppression of Afro-American, Spanish-speaking and Indian people, to win the support of the white workers for a policy of super-exploitation of colored workers. Although apparently directed only against colored people, racism and white chauvinism is essentially a weapon in the exploitation of the white workers. The wage differential, the working conditions and treatment accorded Afro-Americans are actually determinants of the norms for the white working class. The system of Afro-American oppression, chauvinism and racism breeds opportunism in the labor movement, divides its ranks along color lines and retards all workers' struggles against capitalist exploitation. It increases the rate of profit and reinforces the economic and political control of the owning class.

Therefore the questions of race and class cannot be separated when dealing with the solution to the problems of the Afro-American in the US: racism is a basic instrument of class oppression and the major barrier to progress for black and white; the struggle against racism is a central part of the class struggle and the basic question facing the entire country. Because of the dominant working class composition of the Afro-American people and the fusion of their oppression with class exploitation within capitalist society, the basic economic solution in their struggle for freedom becomes the resolution of the basic economic contradiction of capitalism (i.e. private ownership of the means of production and social productive relations).

Moreover, as Marx said, "an idea becomes a material force when it is gripped by the minds of the masses". So it is with racism in the minds of white Americans. Agitation and education alone is not sufficient to eradicate racism in the US. What is required is fundamental change in the material conditions of Afro-Americans and genuine economic, political and social equality. This will require both ending the oppression of black people and massive compensatory measures to eradicate the effects of 350 years of oppression. Due to the national character of the Afro-American question, their historical oppression as a people, their resulting hostility and suspicion toward white Americans (which is natural, inevitable and legitimate), the building of real, i.e. voluntary, working class unity requires that Afro-Americans be supported by the entire working class in their quest to determine their own destiny.

With the above as background, we believe that the political solution to the Afro-American question is to be found within the framework of the principle of national self-determination. While this principle applies both to nations and oppressed nationalities, due to the uniqueness of the historical development of the Afro-American people on the North American continent, none of the various existing forms applied throughout the world in resolving the national question fit the concrete circumstances of the Afro-American people in the US today.

Among the most obvious differences from conditions facing other liberation movements struggling for self-determination are that Afro-Americans:

are in their majority working class rather than peasants or farmers

suffer oppression and super-exploitation of labor power, alone as opposed to super-exploitation of labor and expropriation of land and natural resources

share a common economic life with the "oppressor nation" in a highly developed capitalist society, as opposed to a separate undeveloped--mainly feudal--colonial economy.

In order to meet the needs of the black working masses it follows from the above basic differences that the content of the national movement of Afro-Americans must be anti-monopoly and socialist-oriented, and led by the black working class, rather than bourgeois-democratic pro capitalist-oriented, and led by the black bourgeoisie. While bourgeois democracy opens up broader areas of democracy, mass participation and struggle, the needs of black masses require: social ownership of production and distribution, not private; cooperative effort, not individual; international working class solidarity, not national competition and antagonisms; full employment, not competition within a steadily shrinking job market.

In projecting the need for black power for black control of the black community we wish to stress the working class character of the overwhelming majority of black people, and the necessity that that control be exercised by the working class and poor sections of the black community first of all. The struggle for black community control over schools, police, welfare, urban renewal, etc. must be based on a program that understands the source of the oppression of the Afro-American people in its super-exploitation by capitalism. Black people are in misery because capitalism has made and continues to make huge profits off their sweat and at their expense. Tax money for highways subsidizing the auto monopolies, rather than providing cheap mass transportation; subsidies for profitable suburban housing that excludes the black masses instead of decent housing for the low income families; billions in tax money to the war, oil, agri-business and other monopolies, instead of the peoples money to end the decaying schools, horribly inadequate hospitals and public health facilities, scarce recreation -- all these hit the working class harder than any other section; but they hit the mass of Afro-American people hardest of all.

Add to this the effect of automation installed to supplant workers for higher profits which throws the burden of unemployment at catastrophic levels on the black community, especially black young people; the use of racism to prevent unionization keeping the standard of living of millions of white workers low and black workers lowest of all. All this plus the fact that two million black workers and their families are part of the trade-union movement and therefore right at the heart of capitalist production, sharing the situation of all workers, yet suffering special discrimination in the plants and from the unions.

The national character of the Afro-American people, their special oppression and especially the new movement for black pride, black unity and black culture has put the black workers in the lead of struggles that are in the interest of the entire working class. The Poor People's March is a dramatic example of how the organizations of the Afro-American people can initiate and lead struggles that unite black, brown and white.

The capitalist class is moving to block the anti-capitalist, working class content to the struggle for black power. The Ford Foundation and other establishment outfits are pouring money into militant black groups. They are pressuring them to seek the support of big business and, in the name of black control, trying to turn the black community against the trade unions. The adoption by CORE of the slogan "Black Capitalism" shows how deep this danger is.

This attempt to buy off middle class militants fits in with the move to turn the ghetto into another source of tax supported profits, like the war industries. Proposals and programs for the federal government to provide tax incentives and subsidies to make projects like housing rehabilitation.

Afro-American Commission--5
and small manufacturing that creates jobs profitable. Profit destroyed,
decent housing; now they want profits to restore decent housing.

These programs, justified in the name of improving conditions in the black community and giving lip service to black community control, are a major threat to black community control and to black power.

They put projects in the ghetto under the control of white capitalist corporations. They tie community leaders to these corporations, cutting them off from the people, putting them on the payroll of the exploiters of the community. Such programs cut the funds that really could be available to the community, by wasting in profits to the corporations that could go directly to cooperatives fully controlled by the community. These profits are an added tax burden on the working class--black, brown and white--that lines the pockets of the white power structure, without benefitting the black community.

Black capitalist control of business in the black community is better than white capitalist control; but it is not a program that meets the needs of the community or strengthens the power and organizations of the masses to fight against their exploitation and oppression. Private profits are not fully put to work for the community. Stores and small businesses are guided by the need to make profit, not operated to serve the needs of and under control of the community. The economic power of the community is in the hands of the tiny black middle class. But if the stores, rehabilitation programs, job creating, and manufacturing are organized on a cooperative, non-profit basis, all the funds are used in the interest of the community; decisions are made by the community; and the poor and working people, who are the overwhelming majority, strengthen their organized power to fight against the white capitalist power structure.

In every area of American life, for the Afro-American people to be able to fight effectively against special oppression, for full equality, there must be a fight for black community control of the institutions that affect the lives of black people.

On Education - All the institutions of mass education are dominated by white upper class people and culture. For black children to be taught for a life of dignity, pride in self and black culture, and trained to work in jobs with dignity for the future, the hold of white upper class standards, outlook and expectations must be broken. This means black community control over every aspect of the teaching of black children, including curriculum, teachers, textbooks, planning, building, etc. This also means full participation of the organized black community in the decisions controlling the larger educational system. Full awareness of black, Hispano, and Puerto Rican culture must become a part of the education of all Americans - to destroy the idea that culture is upper class European white culture.

Bourgeois domination of education also imposes its standards and priorities on the education of all working people. The fight for control of the education of black children by black people points the way for the fight by working people for control of education.
Political power - Forms must be fought for to give black communities political power. Racist motivated electoral district boundaries and schemes for preventing black majorities from winning and taking over city and county governments must be changed and defeated. New districts must be drawn to maximize black and brown representation. Reforms are also needed at the state and national levels.

In addition, decision making over many services affecting the community should be decentralized so that local black, brown and white working class communities can have control of their own police, schools, welfare, recreation, public health, etc. This should be seen, however, in the context that the ruling class that dominates the politics and economics of whole regions has got to be made to fork over vastly greater resources for the

Afro-American Commission--6

Police - Because they defend the property of the exploiters of the black and brown communities; because their white racist culture causes them to see black people as suspect, dangerous and criminal; because they are controlled by the white bourgeoisie outside of the black and brown community; the police play the role of a foreign occupying army in the black and brown community.

Police in the black community must not only be black, they must live in the community they patrol, and must be answerable to local, black community boards for their procedures and conduct. As long as the community does not have control of its own police, it must take steps to defend itself against the murderous invading army that threatens the safety of every Afro-American and especially the young, the militant, the local leaders of the fight for black liberation, the resistance to the occupation.

We advocate the organization in the black and brown community of effective defense against police, army, and white racist vigilante terror, including legal defense, medical aid, patrols over the police, and armed self-defense - organized and individual. This area especially requires a massive educational and organizational campaign in the white community on the nature of police violence and repression in the black community, on the domination of racist and fascist minded elements in the police forces, and on the threat to the rights of the whole working class and middle class dissenters of the bloated rightist terror armies that are America's urban police forces today.

These armies have been built up especially to occupy and suppress the black community, and the black community is leading here in the fight to check the police.

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

The above material was made available by SF T-3 on June 17 and June 24, 1968.

A meeting of the NCD CP Afro-American Commission was held at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, on June 7, 1968. This commission was formerly named the Negro Commission but the new name was ordered by the National CP Office. ROSCOE PROCTOR at this meeting having had difficulty with a previous pre-convention draft, presented his re-written version. This draft called for the complete independence for the Negro. As noted in the formal report immediately above, source reported that PROCTOR was stressing the Negro's right to secede from labor unions and to establish his own since the present unions had not treated the Negro fairly. The draft also called for CP recognition of the BPP as the only such organization paying attention to real Negro problems. This support should include backing any and all BPP candidates for public office. The commission accepted the draft of PROCTOR who intended to proceed to present it at the District CP convention to be held on June 15, 1968.

SF T-3
6/17/68

At an earlier meeting of the NCD CP Negro Commission on May 5, 1968, held at 411 Pierce Street, San Francisco, members had been urged to have people join the poor people's march. There was some discontent presented by the rank and file members because the Party leadership had not decided if any Party members would go on the bus to offer a leadership role to the marchers.

SF T-3
5/8/68

At a meeting of the NCD CP, 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, on April 20, 1968, San Francisco Party [redacted] [redacted] complained about the poor attendance and pointed out that the same situation seemed to arise whenever the agenda concerned the Negro people. [redacted] pointed out that if the CP members were not interested in Negro matters, the Negro would not be interested in the CP program. It was mentioned at this meeting that CP Youth Clubs had donated \$23 to the BOBBY HUTTON Fund. BOBBY HUTTON was a member of the BPP who was killed in a shootout with the Oakland Police Department in April, 1968.

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SF T-3
4/23/68

SF 100-53902

WAC:jl

A meeting of the Black Caucus of the NCDPC was held at St. Helena, California, on March 23 and 24, 1968, under the direction of ROSCOE PROCTOR. The points brought out at this meeting were as follows:

(1) Get as many trade union people as possible to join the MARTIN LUTHER KING March to Washington, D.C., April 22, 1968.

(2) Hold a protest rally against the so-called heavy weight championship fight in Oakland, California April 27, 1968, because CASSIUS CLAY while still regarded as champion by PROCTOR was not fighting in the contest.

(3) PROCTOR advocated a candidacy of JOHN GEORGE for Congress from the Oakland District. This decision was questioned by other black persons present since HUEY NEWTON of the BPP was also running for the same position. PROCTOR said that the Party position was to support JOHN GEORGE for political office and to support NEWTON's defense in court. (It is to be noted that the BPP wanted to free NEWTON without trial.)

(4) The CP should send representatives to meetings of the new Black United Front. (The Black United Front was an idea promulgated by STOKELY CARMICHAEL when he appeared at a public meeting in Oakland in February, 1968. CARMICHAEL urged that all Negro militant organizations unite for more effective action. CARMICHAEL is a black militant leader formerly chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, (SNCC).)

A characterization of SNCC is contained in the appendix.

(5) PROCTOR planned to set up a Negro commission to try to coordinate the efforts and activities of Negroes and Mexican Americans in the Bay Area.

PROCTOR suggested that the Center of the Alliance For Black Unity in Oakland be used in the campaign to urge support for JOHN GEORGE.

SF T-4
3/25/68

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

At a meeting of the NCDPC, April 20, 1968, at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, matters for "Black Liberation" while on the agenda were not taken up but were postponed until June, 1968. At the same time the Party agreed to make a financial donation to the BPP. The deadline for same being set as May 6. The amount to be contributed was not stated. ROSCOE PROCTOR at this meeting recommended that the Party prepare to attempt to bring about work stoppages when blacks were shot down in the streets.

SF T-5
5/2/68

The San Francisco County Committee CPUSA, held a meeting at 1027 Brussels Street in San Francisco, on May 13, 1968. At this time it was announced that the Party was considering reorganizing the twelve clubs in the county into nine new ones. One would be called the Bobby Hutton Club where black and white comrades would concentrate on problems of racism and the building of the CP in the black community.

SF T-6
5/28/68

At a meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club held at 1627 Woolsey Street, Berkeley, on April 1, 1968, [redacted] a member, reported on his efforts at the Black United Front meetings. He said there were 600 Negroes active in various militant groups and [redacted] felt that it would be possible to bring some of these into the Black Cultural Center that the East Bay Ghetto Club had been trying to organize. ROSCOE PROCTOR hoped to be able to organize these various elements which so far were scattered around the Bay Area and PROCTOR instructed [redacted] to continue to try to gain the confidence of members of these organizations. PROCTOR urged all possible members to attend demonstrations against the proposed heavy-weight championship fight in Oakland on April 27, 1968.

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PROCTOR commented that the black members' meeting at St. Helena on March 23, 1968, was not considered to have been much of a success since only ten out of a possible 35 to 40 people attended the meeting. PROCTOR complained that the Black Cultural Center in Oakland was not being used to its full advantage and also the rent was due again. PROCTOR said that he had told the CP District leaders that the East Bay Ghetto Club was already holding meetings with black militant groups and he could not go on lying much longer. Any meeting

SF 100-53902

WAC:jl

with the black groups by members of of the East Bay Ghetto Club would have to use the cultural center in the future.

SF T-2

4/5/68

SF T-6 on April 15, 1968, advised that the new headquarters for the East Bay Ghetto Club is to be known as the Alliance for Black Unity and the Black United Front was to be at 3092 Sacramento Street, Berkeley.

At a meeting of the East Bay Ghetto Club at the above address on April 18, 1968, ROSCOE PROCTOR reported that he had told ALBERT LIMA that he had invited the BPP to use the new cultural center and member [redacted] claimed that in conferring with other militant groups he received their promise to become part of the Alliance for Black Unity.

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SF T-6

4/23/68

At still another meeting of this club on April 29, 1968, ROSCOE PROCTOR led a discussion on how to implement the call of CARMICHAEL in February for unity among the blacks. As of the end of April, PROCTOR knew of no attempt at unity which had been successful and he thought it would be a feather in the cap of the East Bay Ghetto Club if they would be the ones to initiate a move to unify the efforts. PROCTOR proposed getting together all black trade unionists in the Bay Area and also to possibly support a general strike if nothing was done to answer the blacks' problems. PROCTOR suggested that such a strike would cripple "whitie" more than violence. PROCTOR also mentioned that black club members must protect themselves at all cost but the program should be only for self-defense and not for offense. Club members agreed it would be better to support the strike method suggested by PROCTOR rather than to think about guerilla war tactics. PROCTOR again voiced opposition to any schemes involving sabotage.

SF T-2

4/29/68

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

SF T-2 advised on May 23, 1968, that the East Bay Ghetto Club which was a Negro organization in the Communist Party had only six regular members for a considerable time but due to some new arrivals in the area, the club now had seven or eight members.

The NCDPC Youth Conference held at 81 Clementina Street, San Francisco, March 30, 1968, recommended that the Party should devote a workshop to racism. This workshop was held and as a result the group urged support to the "Free Huey Newton" movement and listed the dates of scheduled demonstrations in his behalf. The workshop also called for the support of the BPP's candidates such as ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

SF T-7
4/1/68

The Sunset Club of the CP met on May 4, 1968, at 799 Clayton Street, San Francisco. Some of the members were reported to be not in agreement with the very militant Negro movement. The violence of some of these persons was not considered a practical solution to the problem. The Party members present indicated they would accept black power, only as a political activity.

SF T-8
5/9/68

At a meeting of the Fillmore Club, CP, 41 Woodland Street, San Francisco, on June 19, 1968, member [redacted] was critical of two fellow members who were white, for displaying what she called "white chauvinism" toward Negroes. She said that these members had made critical remarks of Negro burglars and she also said that one of the club members had gone so far as to move out of an address in San Francisco when [redacted] and another Negro family moved in.

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SF T-3
6/21/68

SF 100-53902
WAC:jl

B. THE YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)

The "Young Socialist" magazine issue of June, 1968, contained a feature article on HUEY P. NEWTON. This was in the form of an interview with NEWTON in jail by DERRICK MORRISON, National Committee member of the YSA. This interview attempted to publicize the usual points of the BPP in question and answer form. The same issue contained another article by Editor CAROL LIPMAN entitled, "Defend the Panthers-- Free Huey Newton--Free Eldridge Cleaver". LIPMAN called on the readers to organize support for the BPP in each area. This would be in the form of meetings where the real story of the attacks on the Black Panthers could be told and funds collected. Also in the form of enlisting the interests of prominent citizens or in demanding that the California Adult Authority release ELDRIDGE CLEAVER from jail. It was pointed out that information concerning CLEAVER could be secured from the International Committee to Release Eldridge Cleaver, P.O. Box 2967, Customs House, San Francisco, California.

CLEAVER was in jail in Vacaville, California, until his release by a local judge as a result of his having taken part in a shootout with the Oakland Police Department in April, 1968, at a time when he was on parole from another California offense.

A characterization of the YSA
is contained in the appendix.

II. COMMUNIST PARTY TACTICS

There is no material to report under this category during the period.

III. COMMUNIST PARTY PENETRATION
AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND
OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

There is no information as to Communist influence in the activities of racial organizations in this area at this time.

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

A source advised on August 1, 1960, that the San Francisco Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was formed approximately in the early part of 1938, and the Oakland Branch of the SWP was formed in the latter part of 1938.

A second source advised on October 26, 1959, that the name of the Oakland Branch of the SWP was changed to the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP.

A third source advised on May 1, 1967, that the San Francisco Branch and the Oakland-Berkeley Branch of the SWP follow the policies and directives of the National SWP with which they are affiliated.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360 - 362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, STOKELY CARMICHAEL was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967, CARMICHAEL was replaced as Chairman by H. RAP BROWN, with CARMICHAEL assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for the SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of FIDEL CASTRO, CARMICHAEL participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, CARMICHAEL traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when CARMICHAEL was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. RAP BROWN as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. RAP BROWN said, "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note BROWN wrote, "America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (known in the San Francisco Bay Area as the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance, aka the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance, Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist)

A source advised on May 16, 1960, that the Bay Area Young Socialist Alliance (BAYSA) was formed in February, 1958, as the Bay Area Committee for the Young Socialist (BACYS). At a later stage in its development prior to adoption of the name BAYSA, the organization was known as the Bay Area Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (BACYSA).

The source advised that as a result of a national convention held April 15-17, 1960, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the BAYSA became a branch of the national organization to be known as the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and will carry out in the Northern California area the policies of the YSA.

A second source advised May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA is currently active and is composed of two locals: The San Francisco YSA and the Berkeley YSA.

The first source advised on May 1, 1967, that the BAYSA, although ostensibly an independent organization, is in reality controlled by the San Francisco Branch, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Oakland Branch, SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

1

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960 issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that the SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The newspaper "Young Socialist" was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The "Young Socialist" maintains headquarters at Room 535, 41 Union Square West, New York City, and the mailing address of P.O.Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

21*

~~APPENDIX~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
San Francisco, California

*In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.*

July 23, 1968

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA WILLIAM A. COHENDET, dated and captioned as above, at San Francisco.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE LOS ANGELES	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 8/9/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 7/5/68 - 8/8/68
TITLE OF CASE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS		REPORT MADE BY WILLIAM R. WHITE	TYPED BY lel
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - C	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [redacted] dated 5/15/68, at Los Angeles.

b6
b7C

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Copies of this report are being furnished New York, San Diego, and San Francisco, for information in view of their mutual interest in CIRM.

This report is classified confidential because data received from the confidential informants utilized herein tends to identify these sources of continuing value and could possibly compromise their future effectiveness.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
							PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i> SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW		
COPIES MADE: 9 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM) 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM) 1 - OSI, NAFB, San Bernardino (RM) 1 - NISO, San Diego (RM) 1 New York (100-153735) (Info) (RM) 1 San Diego (100-13295) (Info) (RM) 1 San Francisco (100-53902) (Info) (RM) 1 Los Angeles (100-66078)	SEARCHED	INDEXED	SERIALIZED
	FILED		
	<i>100-66078-614</i>		

Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

Notations

File Stripped
 Initials: *[Signature]*
 Date: *4/1/73*

LA 100-66078

LEAD

LOS ANGELES

1 AT LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA: Will follow and report any communist influence in racial matters.

INFORMANTS

SOURCE

LOCATION

LA T-1

LA T-2

LA T-3

Characterization, BILL TAYLOR

Oral, instant report, 8/2/68,
SA WILLIAM R. WHITE

b7D

LA T-4

LA T-5

LA T-6

LA T-7

LA T-8

100-66078-1572

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1 - Region II, Pasadena (RM)
1 - OSI, Norton Air Force Base, San Bernardino (RM)
1 - NISO, San Diego (RM)

Report of: WILLIAM R. WHITE
Date: 8/9/68

Office: Los Angeles, California

Field Office File #: 100-66078.

Bureau File #: 100-442529

Title: COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Synopsis: The strategy of the Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP), in racial matters set out. There has been no recent information concerning tactics of the SCDCP in racial matters, and no reported information concerning SCDCP influence in the activities of racial organizations in the Los Angeles area.

- P* -

DETAILS:

All street addresses set out in this report are in Los Angeles, California, unless otherwise indicated.

The following abbreviations will be used:

CP Communist Party
SCDCP Southern California District CP

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

LA 100-66078

I. CP STRATEGY

LA T-1 (4/10/68)
LA T-2 (4/10/68)

On March 30, 1968, the Negro Commission of the SCDCP held a meeting at 1220 East 64th Street. The chairman of the meeting was BILL TAYLOR who said the main problem facing the CP was on how to reach the Negro in the ghetto.. TAYLOR also said the CP must build a Negro cadre and then speak out on Negro questions and give guidance to the problems that concern the Negro people.

LA T-3 (8/2/68)

BILL TAYLOR in August 1968, was a full-time employee of the SCDCP, and the Negro Affairs Director for the SCDCP, as well as being a member of the National Committee, CP-USA.

LA T-4 (4/15/68)

On April 10, 1968, a meeting of the South Central Club, Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP, was held at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. During instant meeting a discussion was held concerning the recent murder of Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, and it was pointed out that this presented a good time for the CP to increase its organizing and recruiting in the Negro community.

LA T-5 (4/17/68)

On April 13, 1968, the District Committee of the SCDCP held a meeting at 1251 South St. Andrews Place. During the meeting a proposal was made that the CP should issue a circular and distribute it in areas where there is alleged racism. It was also suggested that an organization be set up in several areas and try police who are accused of police brutality.

LA 100-66078

LA T-1 (5/23/68)
LA T-2 (5/23/68)
LA T-3 (5/17/68)
LA T-6 (5/16/68)

On May 11, 1968, the Negro Commission of the SCDCP held a meeting at 4431 Angeles Vista Boulevard. During instant meeting it was pointed out that more Negro members were needed in the SCDCP. Also that the current Negro CP members should get into mass Negro organizations and build the CP. A discussion was also held on the great need for leadership in Negro organizations and it was mentioned that the CP could provide this leadership.

LA T-3 (5/17/68)

BILL TAYLOR (supra) told several Negro CP members in May 1968, that the CP wanted no part of many of the new militant Negro organizations because many of their members carried guns and were constantly in trouble with the police. TAYLOR said many of these organizations were without good leaders and the members would not follow a good leader and would not take advice or follow suggestions. For this reason, TAYLOR said, the CP would not try to work with or for these organizations.

LA T-6 (6/18/68)
LA T-7 (6/17/68)

On June 3, 1968, the Executive Board of the SCDCP and the Negro Commission of the SCDCP, held a meeting at 3443 Tenth Avenue. During the meeting it was brought out that the Negro and white members of the SCDCP show a definite lack of communication, and that they must learn to work together if they are to have any influence in the Negro community.

LA 100-66078

LA T-1 (6/24/68)
LA T-2 (6/24/68)

On June 17, 1968, the Executive Board of the South Central Club, Moranda Smith Section, SCDCP, held a meeting at 5731 South St. Andrews Place. A discussion was held at instant meeting on the need for the CP to attract more Negro members. It was pointed out that many new, young Negro organizations had no trouble getting members and the CP should hold activities that would attract the Negro.

LA T-3 (6/20/68)

On June 19, 1968, a meeting of CP Negro members was held at 2128 Third Avenue. During instant meeting it was pointed out that the SCDCP was not recruiting Negro members. One way to accomplish this, it was suggested, was to hold a forum every three months and invite non-party people. It was brought out that topics of interest to the Negro community could be discussed.

LA T-8 (6/26/68)

Informant furnished a copy of a speech given by BILL TAYLOR (Supra) at the District Convention of the SCDCP, held on June 22, 1968. In this speech, TAYLOR stated in part as follows:

"The demand for Negro freedom raised by our party is centered on the slogan: 'For full social, economic and political equality.' We feel it is the strategic demand of the Negro people. To take steps to make this slogan a reality, we support the supplementary slogans raised within the framework of 'Black Power', such as: "black control of the black community", "community police review boards composed of the indiginous population, etc.'.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LA 100-66078.

"The most urgent and consistent need of the community for winning these demands is 1) all-class unity, and 2) working-class leadership.

"We do believe that only socialism can really bring fulfillment of Negro aspirations for freedom, because it abolishes man's exploitation by man, the need for division in the working class or the playing of one group against the other withers away, and man can then live in real peace, freedom and equality."

II. CP TACTICS

There is no material to report under this category during this period.

III. CP PENETRATION AND INFLUENCE IN RACIAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

LA T-3 (8/2/68)

Source advised that to the best of his knowledge, in August 1968, there was no infiltration of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the Los Angeles area, by the CP.

There has been no additional information reported concerning SCDGP influence in the activities of racial organizations in the Los Angeles area during the recent past.

- 5* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
August 9, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. LA 100-66078

Title	COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN RACIAL MATTERS
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - C
Reference	Report of SA WILLIAM R. WHITE dated and captioned as above, at Los Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC 100-66078

DATE: 8-1-68

FROM : SA William R. White

SUBJECT: CIRM
15-c

In connection with the destruction of channelizing memoranda, the information contained on the serials listed below was incorporated in a report dated 8-9-68. The review for this report was made from serial 1483 through serial 1613.

In accordance with the above, the following serials are to be destroyed:

Volume	Serials (List by serial or serial scope.)
19	1484
	1485
	1491 thru 1516
	1518 thru 1520
20	1521 thru 1541
	1544
	1545
	1547 thru 1568
	1571
	1573 thru 1587
	1589 thru 1604
	1607 thru 1613

100-66078-1615

SEARCHED [initials]
SERIALIZED [initials]
INDEXED [initials]
FILED [initials]

FBI - LOS ANGELES

[Signature]

No. of copies 1

Approved _____

Destroyed by _____

Date 8-24-68

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

No Duplication Fees are charged for Deleted Page Information Sheet(s).

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 2
Page 383 ~ b6, b7C
Page 384 ~ b6, b7C